

**The Influence of Gender
on the
Perception of Local Landscape**

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DECLARATION

I am responsible for composing this thesis. It represents my own work and where the work of others has been used, it is duly acknowledged.

Signed

Amanda Faith Bingley

17th September 2001

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Abstract

This thesis is a qualitative exploration of the influence of gender in the perception of landscape with particular emphasis on the effects of childhood experience on subsequent adult perception. The experience and perception of local landscapes appears to be deeply influenced by gender patterns and cultural gender roles, which in turn are integral to individual identity. In the course of exploring and examining the nature and extent of gender influence on landscape perception this thesis draws on cultural and feminist geographies of space, landscape, gender identity and self, and various associated interdisciplinary fields; psychoanalysis, social science, anthropology, psychology, philosophy, and history.

Chapter one outlines the key themes and areas with which this thesis is concerned. I look at the major approaches to landscape perception research which, with a few exceptions, has tended toward either theoretical or quantitative. I discuss how neither approach adequately examines the everyday 'lived experience' of individuals and the complexities and influences at work in landscape perception. Hence, in order to explore individual experience this thesis employs an empirically based methodology, which draws on the object relations theory of D.W.Winnicott. In chapter two I explore literatures associated firstly with landscape perception, then with gender identity and gender theory, and finally object relations theory and the conceptualisation of Self as developed by psychoanalyst D.W.Winnicott.

Chapter three describes the research design; using innovative methodology to work with twelve adults in a series of workshops during which they were facilitated to connect with and articulate their perception of landscape; by focusing specifically on tactile as well as other sensory experience. I outline the skills used in facilitating both the workshops and the one to one in-depth interviews. Ethical issues specifically involved in the methodology are addressed. Chapter four discusses the qualitative data analysis of the material collected in the course of the fieldwork, and leads into the final interpretative section of the thesis.

In chapter five I look at the interaction between individual and cultural stereotypes, myths, memories and fantasies involved in gender identity and experience of landscape. Chapter six examines the complexities involved in the initial and continuing development of an individual's gender identity; an identity which emerges as a process of self-definition in on-going relationship with cultural and individual values and influence. Chapter seven is concerned with the multi-faceted nature and expression of the sensory experience of landscape perception, itself informed by early childhood experience and relationships. Concluding in chapter eight I look at how the complexities of gender identity are deeply implicated in landscape perception, which itself is inescapably informed by sensory experience. The conclusions drawn from this research describe intricate processes of self-definition and sensory experience, which I propose lie at the heart of the influence of gender identity on the perception of landscape.

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I dedicate this thesis to my brother Julian Bingley (1947-1997) who died during my first year as a post graduate student. Julian was a source of great courage and inspiration to me. His death has irrevocably changed the tenor and meaning of both my life and this research in profoundly painful but extraordinary ways.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1: Beginnings

There were trees at the back of the garden, and beyond flat East Anglian fields widened out into a expanse of estuary, full of reedbeds, home to the convoluted River Stour, by this time tidal, brackish and smelling of sharp North Sea salt. Across the valley small hills hunched like animals, their patchy greens changing to blues and purples from sunrise to night. Sometimes as a child I would feel I sank deep into the body of this landscape, and later it seemed the land was the only Other that gave me the space in which I had a true sense of being myself. I felt as if, in those moments, I ‘bonded’ with the land but that the land was always just beyond my vision, just beyond my touch, bounded by my thoughts; so the bond was suffused with a profound sense of isolation. I could never really get ‘in touch’ and feel fully ‘at one’ with landscape and the elements of landscape. This intense emotional, mental and sensory experience, repeated endlessly during long walks probably from about eight years old and through my teenage years, seemed to resonate with my early relational experience, which also felt suffused with isolation. Like the landscape, I experienced my mother as always just beyond my vision, and my touch, and always bounded by my thoughts. Neither she nor I seemed able to evolve and develop a relationship that ‘touched’ and connected each other. With hindsight and in the light of psychotherapeutic insight I realised that I had projected this experience onto the landscape, which then mirrored my inner feelings. I also came to understand that the sense of isolation in my early relationships was very probably influenced, not only by my mother’s own early experience, but compounded by our differing personalities, as well as a range of complicated family dynamics - and a most salient point - the fact of my being female, and the consequent but complex impact of socio-cultural dynamics on my activities and expectations.

The overall effect of this initial realisation of the intricacies of subjective relational experience, gender influence and landscape, has been to fuel a journey towards a greater understanding of the processes involved. For though I started out

from a particular point of relationship, I recognise that neither I nor others necessarily stay rooted to one spot. Subjective and objective relationships, with people, self-identity and surrounding landscape are open to continual change according to varying awareness and insights; thus transformatory shifts can occur throughout life. For instance, in the course of many years of personal psychotherapeutic work I have arrived at a place where the 'log-jam' of childhood isolation is freed up so landscape can be perceived and experienced from a variety of perspectives, and with a very different awareness of the processes involved. Thus basic sensory, intuitive and cognitive processes can be applied in hundreds of ways in an individual's everyday life, even though there may be resonance from the earliest experience. During nearly two decades in healthcare as a professional homoeopathic practitioner and humanistic psychotherapist, I proceeded to quite intensively explore the nature and processes of human relationships. However, questions about relationship to landscape remained submerged until I started a degree in geography in the early 1990s.

During the second year of that degree I studied at the University of California at Berkeley on an Exchange Abroad Programme. Through a combination of taking an inspiring cultural studies class plus practical fieldwork in the San Francisco Bay Delta my fascination with landscape perception was re-kindled. In particular, at that stage I wanted to explore the complex interactions between cultural influence and individuals' landscape perception. I undertook a piece of qualitative fieldwork as a dissertation in which I researched the influence of culture on an individual's perception and subjective experience of landscape. Whilst conducting interviews with men and women farmers, biologists, landowners and various others involved in the agricultural area of the Bay Delta I was struck particularly by apparent gender differences in the ways landscape was perceived and experienced. Secondly, I observed people feeling intense emotions evoked by local landscape, which seemed to resonate with the kind of intense emotions I had witnessed in people when accessing/recalling early infant and/or childhood experience. Following up this work with a theoretical review of literature in gender and landscape perception I discovered, with a few exceptions, a remarkable lack of research in this area.

Furthermore, beyond unique research conducted by Jacquelin Burgess et al. (1988a & 1988b) in which psychoanalytic small groups were used to explore people's relationship to their local 'open spaces', there was virtually no other work in geography that used in-depth methods drawn from psychotherapeutics in fieldwork. No one has, to my knowledge, applied psychotherapeutic skills to specifically study the link between an adult's relationship with a 'local body' of land together with the interaction and influence of gender identity. Nor how this link might be driven by early infant relationships with the 'local' body of the mother / primary carer / father.

1.2: Spaces of Self

The work of Object Relations Theory psychoanalyst, D.W. Winnicott (1896-1971), proved a particular inspiration in terms of his theories of early relationships. Without this stimulus I could not have begun to explore the numerous unanswered questions about the nature of landscape perception which led to this research. Winnicott's theories integrated with my own background of humanistic psychotherapy, in which there was a shared notion of an individual self-defining their identity in relation to themselves and in relation to the outer world. Thus Winnicottian theory and my therapeutic viewpoint contend and work from a fundamental supposition that individual identity is a continual process of self-definition, and relating to Other is a dynamic interaction between Self and Other. Hence, the theoretical base of this thesis is firmly placed in Winnicottian notions of the processes involved in the early and subsequent relations between an individual, described as Self or Me, and all things beyond that individual, described as Other or Not-Me. Although, Winnicott rarely addressed gender specifically, his theory encompasses notions of self-definition. From a combination of the theoretical resources of Winnicott, feminist gender theory and humanistic psychotherapeutics I devised a methodology with which to approach this enquiry.

In the course of the research twelve people, men and women, were encouraged to enter into a space where they could both experience, and bring to conscious awareness, the relationship between themselves and landscape. Alongside this awareness they could allow early sensory experience, childhood memories of landscape, as well as recollections of family relations to surface. This thesis arises

from the premise that landscape can become a repository of many conscious and unconscious elements of our identity, and the components of that identity, as for example, gender, class, age, occupation, race, culture, and all the memory, stereotypes and myth associated with those many elements. I also work outwards from a fundamental fact of existence; that people cannot be conceived without parents, born without a mother, cannot survive without the care, nurture and handling of the mother or some other primary carer (which may be the father) and the land. I surmise that this knowledge lies deeply within us and has a profound and lasting influence on all our subsequent relationships with all things 'Not-Me' or Other, and that this includes the landscape, be it urban, rural, or wilderness. Given the multitude of dissatisfactions and satisfactions that we can experience at the hands of our primary carers we are likely to perceive Others including landscapes through a veil of memories and projections.

From his extensive psychoanalytic work with children and adults Winnicott concluded that each individual experiences their Self / Not-Self relationships in what could be conceived of as a kind of space around ourselves, in what he termed 'potential space'. This 'space' or gap in-between Self and Other, and/or Self and components of Self, has a mediating, relational function where our inner and outer realities can co-exist and from infancy be explored and developed. Potential space and the objects with which we furnish it is the in-between space from which arise play, creativity, art, and imagination, and Winnicott suggested our cultural experience.

An important aspect of this thesis is the methodological design which drew on Winnicott's theory of 'potential space' in order to most sensitively, and ethically, elicit the participant's primary and subsequent experience of landscape. In-depth one-to-one interviews provided a space for reflection upon early relationships, gender identity, and recollection of childhood memories of landscape, whilst a series of three one-day workshops were set up in which participants were invited to make 3D models of their sensory experience of local landscape sites. The aim of the workshops was to enable people to connect with their sensory experience of landscape, in particular through the tactile, which of all the senses is most profoundly connected with early experience. Through this methodology I set out to explore relatively unexplored spaces and experiences connected to the complex interrelation

between early relationships, gender identity, and subjective lived experience of landscape perception.

1.3: Gendering landscape

This thesis is set in the light of the extensive literature written about landscape. Landscape perception theorist Donald Meinig (1979) argues that landscape has myriad meanings. Thus, in one instance landscape can be regarded as text, in another metaphor, or as background to a phenomenological universalist experience, or landscape as myth. Indeed, much of the literature concludes that landscape can be almost anything the observer or perceiver might like, depending on their position, view or experience at any point in time. Reading the literature, however, I am left with the slightly uncomfortable thought that many of the notions debated about, and put upon landscape meanings, not only originate out of the minds of a great number of dead white male poets, philosophers and Sigmund Freud, but are then re-produced and given greater and more all-encompassing credence by a sometimes achingly repetitive mantra proffered by contemporary academics. A debate that is *out of proportion* to, and not necessarily borne out by the lived experience and perception of a contemporary westerner. That is not to say I do not acknowledge, for example, the existence of landscape myths in the collective cultural consciousness. One important area of this thesis is concerned with the processes observed in the fieldwork by which cultural myths emerged and were related to by the participants involved. I am also painfully aware of the power and force of cultural landscape myths in the political sphere, much of which is not remotely beneficent; as Kenneth Olwig (1993) reminds his readers when he talks of the use of cultural landscape myths in promoting the chilling Third Reich ideologies of ‘Blut und Boden’ in 1930s Germany.

I am intrigued, though, by the nature and images of the myths promoted, and secondly by whom the myths are promoted and to what end. Male and female academics actively write and exchange ideas between each other, but how much is kept alive in the cultural consciousness because it suits male-orientated fantasies to have it thus, and then how much of this received wisdom forces refutations and

debate from female academics to counter the argument? The net effect is to reinforce and re-produce the myth, regardless of evidence of the nature or even active existence of the myth outside of the Academy. For example, twentieth century women writers from a variety of academic disciplines have made much comment on the image of the male God-like projection/ejection into, onto, around female Earth (Merchant, 1996). An image that suggests in the collective mind female Nature is there for the taking, there to lay, as is apparent in the way men talk of 'the lay of the land' (Kolodny, 1975). But, who is saying and who is experiencing the land as male or female? Is this mythic account from our collective *heads* - even though none the less potent for that, as it fuels so much of our action in the world - or is this experience from our bodies, from our sensual perceptions, as a whole organism reality at any given moment of active landscape perception? Annette Kolodny (1975) imagines her land, the USA, as female being 'laid' by her male predecessors and contemporaries. Interestingly, this same image was echoed by female, and male, farmers and biologists I interviewed in California. However, when first formulating this thesis I questioned that the image was the same for everyone in the USA, in the West, in Britain. Land may seem female for Kolodny, and several, but definitively not all, farmers and biologists in the San Francisco Bay Delta, but could this be a general experience for the rest of Western humanity? Surely not. And if some people experienced landscape as gendered and others did not, what processes were at work that created these differences?

How gender identity influences the ways people perceive landscape seems the more important question. Therefore, the issues are not how the landscape is gendered, but rather how gender affects perception of the land. Or put from another angle, how did gender identity influence childhood and subsequent experience of landscape from all aspects - sensual, mental/intellectual, emotional. As I have outlined above, with my background of psychotherapy and a theoretical base of object relations theory as driving force only a minor leap of imagination proved necessary to initiate this research enquiry: looking at the links between an individual's early experience of mother/carer and landscape, and the influence of

gender identity, together with the complex processes of subjectivity that affect perception.

1.4: The Thesis

The task of this thesis is to explore the extent to which gender identity influences landscape perception. Academics from anthropology, (who work from a slightly different perspective and research ethos from my theoretical base) and from psychology (who operate within yet another set of parameters) have asked some elements of this question, but within different frames of reference and with different aims. But as I note above, in the field of cultural geography few researchers have barely ever, if at all, grasped the nettle and enquired to what extent does gender identity and/or cultural gender influence, affect or be drawn upon in somebody's experience, recollection and mythologising of their inner and outer landscapes? Furthermore, barely a handful of researchers has gone out and inquired of people what is the nature and quality of their lived, sensory experience of landscape, with what memories and myths did they feel their perception is actually fuelled? Many researchers have chosen to stay within a quantitative framework, attempting to gain insights into landscape perception by working with landscape preferences, but rarely have qualitative methods been used to ascertain lived experience of landscape. Much less have enquiries been initiated as to how much remembered childhood sensory experience and family relations influence landscape perception and by what processes. This thesis seeks to redress the balance and open up new and potentially fruitful avenues of inquiry.

The thesis is set in the following framework. Chapter Two is concerned first with exploring literature associated with landscape perception, and the meanings of the term landscape, which I define for this thesis as all or any specific non-urban land. Secondly, I identify some of the major theories around gender identity in relation to landscape perception. Finally I explain the major concepts of object relations theory and discuss the conceptualisation of Self as developed by psychoanalyst D.W.Winnicott. I draw on some contemporary post-Winnicottian theorists to elaborate on the object relations theory of the structure of Self. Chapter

Three describes the research design in which I devised innovative methodology to work with twelve adults in a series of workshops during which they were facilitated to connect with and articulate their perception of landscape. I describe the means by which participants were facilitated to focus specifically on tactile as well as other sensory experience. I outline the skills used in facilitating both the workshops and the one to one in-depth interviews. I address the specific ethical issues involved in the methodology and discuss the use of psychotherapeutic supervision during the fieldwork. Chapter Four describes the collection of research material in the course of the fieldwork, and discusses the qualitative data analysis of the material. This chapter leads into the interpretative section of the thesis.

Chapter Five is concerned with the interaction between individual and cultural stereotypes, myths, memories and fantasies involved in gender identity and experience of landscape. Having established the ways in which stereotypes and myths were used by participants, in Chapter Six, I move on to examine the complexities involved in the initial and continuing development of an individual's gender identity. I conclude that an individual's gender identity emerges as a process of self-definition in on-going relationship with cultural and individual values and influence. Chapter Seven is concerned with the multi-faceted nature and expression of the sensory experience of landscape perception. In the final section of this chapter I look at how the complexities of gender identity and early experience are deeply implicated in landscape perception, which is inescapably informed by sensory experience. In Chapter Eight I conclude that, from the fieldwork observations and the theoretical base upon which this research is drawn, intricate processes of self-definition and sensory experience lie at the heart of the influence of gender identity on the perception of landscape.

1.5: Conclusion

From earliest beginnings I had been deeply aware of landscape, and the power and limitations of landscape to provide both bond and solace, in ways that poignantly echoed with my early and subsequent experience of human relationships. Equally I was aware of the powerful influence of gender identity, and the sometimes

confusing and bewildering effects of being female on my activities in, and connection with landscape. Emerging from a background in healthcare and psychotherapy, I embarked on a geography degree. I was inspired by an innovative research project, and D.W. Winnicott's object relations theory, both of which for me challenged much of the existing and discomfoting theories in landscape perception. Thus, I set out to explore the relationship between early experience, gender identity and landscape perception.

Chapter Two: Landscape, gender, and Self

2:1: Introduction

On my desk, three books lie side by side; 'The Maturation Process and the Facilitating Environment' by psychoanalyst D.W.Winnicott (1965), Barbara Bender's (1993) volume of edited essays on the politics and perspectives of landscape, and 'Space, Place, and Gender', Doreen Massey's (1994) collection of essays where she theorises the relationship between the construction of gender identity, place and space. Thus, in one sweep of the eye lies the juxtaposition of the three major areas of my research - landscape, gender identity and the nature of self as theorised by object relations theory.

In this literature review I have divided the chapter into four main sections. In Section 2.2, I explore the various notions of landscape that have been debated in geography and associated disciplines, and how approaches to landscape perception have evolved. In Section 2.3, I identify the differences between the widespread use of preference-based landscape research versus psychoanalytically-orientated research conducted by Jacquelin Burgess et al (1988a, 1988b). In Section 2.4, I discuss major theories and research that have focused on gender identity and landscape, both from within geography and from other disciplines such as anthropology and ecofeminism. Section 2.5 is concerned with introducing the key theories of D.W.Winnicott, defining object relations theory, and discussing concepts of Self with reference to relevant contemporary Winnicottian theorists.

2.2: Seeing landscapes: metaphor, and meanings

Landscape, as I note in Chapter One, is defined in this thesis as meaning non-urban land. This definition follows precedents set at different times by some theorists and writers when they are addressing landscape perception specifically, as opposed to the more general term of environmental perception. Jay Appleton (1975/1996) notes this distinction in his discussion of the development of perception studies in geography and related disciplines. Examples of landscape defined as non-urban land are seen in work by Stephen Daniels & Denis Cosgrove (1988), Barbara Bender

(1993), Christopher Tilley (1993) and Anne Whiston Spirn (1998). However, perception of landscape and environment does not maintain a distinction between landscape referring to a non-urban place, as opposed to that body of literature which is specifically concerned with notions of the city, or urban area (see Williams, 1973; Bondi, 1992; Pile, 1996). For example, work by Clare Cooper Marcus and Wendy Sarkissian (1986) and Cooper Marcus and Carolyn Francis (1998) encompasses urban landscape perception. They set out to explore perceptions, including sensory experience of place and thereby encourage the development of 'people-friendly' urban housing projects with congenial and creative play areas for children, purpose built spaces for students, older people and young families. Brian Goodey (1973, 1974) also discusses a number of studies conducted by both himself and others, in which the aim was to specifically explore people's perceptions of place, where 'place' was as likely to be an urban or non-urban setting (see Donnelly et al., 1973). Goodey had particular concerns with urban planning and development implications. He would often, though by no means always, use a town or city as a reference point, within which he set out to explore, at an intellectual level, people's attitudes and images of their own locality and region, as well as their perceptions of the wider world.

The term landscape can be traced back to the words *landskab* (Danish) or *landschaft* (German) the ancient roots of which arose from 'land'; meaning a place and the people living there, and 'skabe' (Danish) or 'schaffen' (German) meaning the 'shaping'; also found in English derivations as *skab* or *schafft* meaning 'delineation' of the land (Bender, 1993; Olwig, 1993; Spirn, 1998). By the fifteenth century landscape had acquired another meaning from the Dutch *landskip*, a painting term still using the root *land*, meaning a place, but with a new suffix *skip* meaning 'of easel' or 'what could be seen by the eye as one view' (Webster, 1963; Spirn, 1998). Thus over several centuries linguistic evolution tracks a shift from 'landscape' describing a place where people are primarily connected to an area of land upon which they, quite literally, depended upon for physical survival, and very possibly with which they had a necessarily everyday total sensory contact, to 'landscape' as a view that someone looked at and represented visually with oil paint or watercolour.

Thereby, the change in meaning reflects a process of distancing, an abstraction from multi-sensory awareness and experience to that of a pre-dominantly visual experience. Gillian Rose (1993a), writing from a feminist geography standpoint, argues that visual pre-dominance has proved a powerful reflection of gender relations, particularly apparent in the writing of art critics and cultural geographers. Similarly, noting this shift to a pre-dominantly visual meaning, Barbara Bender (1993), writing from an anthropological perspective, focuses on the cultural influence. She argues that a feature of landscape perception in the contemporary western world is the way 'we "perceive" landscapes' from our 'point' of 'seeing', hence landscape for westerners is primarily 'ego-centred' (1993:2-3). Bender suggests that other cultures traditionally may have more varied sensory contact with landscape, and therefore do not have the same kind of descriptions, definitions or experience of landscape or their local place. Tim Ingold (2000), has also described cultural differences in landscape meaning and perception, observing different sensory pre-dominance in different cultures (see also Gell, 1975; Classen, 1993, 1994; Hull, 1997).

In the field of cultural geography, particularly since the 1960s and 1970s, notions of landscape have been the subject of certain key 'radical' debates (Cloke et al., 1991). Since the 1960s a quite staggering volume of literature has burgeoned from human and cultural geography on notions of landscape, much of which is firmly positioned from a broadly humanistic viewpoint, and also a smaller, but by no means lesser, body of literature from a feminist stance. Perhaps, as Derek Gregory (1978, 1994) supposes, this represents an antidote to the equal volume of positivist approaches that had tended, up to the 1960s, to dominate human geography. The emphasis of humanistic-orientated notions of landscape, over the last four decades would seem to reflect not only a general movement towards humanistic approaches that appeared to intensify in psychotherapeutics and sociology, but differing socio-cultural needs and patterns which have changed the nature and degree of contact with landscape. From this perspective landscape is seen as metaphor and medium for individual and cultural meanings (Meinig, 1979; Lowenthal, 1979; Daniels & Cosgrove 1993; Mitchell, 1994; Spirn, 1998). Donald Meinig (1979) in particular

cogently articulates the notion of landscape as 'composed not only of what lies before our eyes but what lies within our heads' (1979:34). Meinig suggests landscape can act as a metaphor for a whole range of human experience in a place: landscape can represent anything from a system, an artefact, wealth, a problem or human/nature relationships. Although, Meinig emphasises the 'eye' as 'the beholder' he does give some credence to the notion of landscape perception as a sensory experience. Stephen Daniels and Denis Cosgrove (1988) describe landscape in terms of cultural iconography. This theme is further developed by Cosgrove (1993) in his discussion of the mythologising of landscape, where he notes the propensity for:

'Myths [to] both shape and be shaped by landscapes.....imaginatively constituted from human experiences in the material world and represented in spoken and written words, poetry, painting, theatre or film' (1993:282).

Thus, in the lexicon of landscape as cultural metaphor, or as W.J.Thomas Mitchell (1994) suggests landscape as a 'medium' for cultural expression, landscape is both repository and resource for human imagination and for the projection of ideas. This is a notion, as I discuss in section 2.5, which can be translated into Winnicottian terms as representing the 'potential space' within which relationships of Self and Other can be realised.

Anne Whiston Spirn (1998) concedes to the notion of landscape as text, and thus follows a theory most particularly advanced by James Duncan (Duncan & Duncan, 1988; Barnes & Duncan, 1992; Duncan & Ley, 1993; Duncan, 1994). Duncan represents a group of authors who have drawn on both cultural studies and social theory to explore the concept of landscape as text; viewed as another example of landscape as a cultural construct (Agnew, 1993; Daniels & Cosgrove, 1993). Duncan expounds on the importance of recognising landscape as a social construct, a political commentary, and an expression of ideologies, capable of being 'read'. This idea, as Duncan propounds and demonstrates in a study of the ancient Kandyan kingdom of Sri Lanka, enables the observer to 'read', like some historical text, human-made structures and the subsequent 'mapping' of those structures which have

served or still serve to maximise symbols of power.¹ Spirn (1998) also posits that landscape represents such scope precisely because landscape was the 'original dwelling', and 'Everyone carries that legacy in body and mind' (1998:15). Spirn's idea resonates with the phenomenological school of landscape, a school not without inspiration for this thesis, but one which as I discuss below, quickly proves problematic, due to the tendency to universalise human experience and thus ignore complexities of individual subjectivity.

Whilst the 'viewing' of landscape or 'reading' of landscape serves to provide a somewhat distanced version of the land, phenomenological humanistic notions of landscape aim to acknowledge the observer as engaged experientially in landscape (Tuan, 1974; Buttimer, 1976; Relph, 1976; Porteous, 1990; Seamon, 1993; Rodaway, 1994). Anne Buttimer (1976) is a clear example of a geographer who sets out phenomenological themes with which she has worked consistently for many years. These themes are also central to geographers such as Yi Fu Tuan and Edward Relph. Firstly, Buttimer describes the sense of landscape as a place of attachment and 'dwelling', for which she draws on Heidegger's landscape philosophy, a notion which is also explored extensively by Tuan (1977). Secondly, Buttimer explores a need to explore 'human experience of space' in the everyday spaces of what she calls 'lifeworld'; expanding on ideas derived from Husserl's *Lebenswelt* (Buttimer, 1976:281). Buttimer demonstrates the phenomenological commitment to a 'holistic', experiential approach in the geographical project, drawing all elements of 'lifeworld'; such as the personal and the cultural, into the meaning of place and home. She notes that the language of landscape description is dualistic, comprised of the 'outsider' as observer and the 'insider' as dweller within landscape.

Whilst phenomenology is attractive in its apparent acknowledgement of an holistic experience, there are two major problems which force a point of divergence. The first problem is the tendency for phenomenological humanistic geographers to take an uncritical position as grand narrators, promoting a universalism which

¹ In a similar way, but from the perspective of a landscape historian, W.G.Hoskins (1955) proposed it was possible to 'read' landscape features in relation to human history.

bypasses socio-cultural and individual differences (see Tuan, 1974, 1977, 1989). Secondly, this school of landscape theorists almost without exception either ignores gender issues completely, or makes no more than a passing reference to gender as problematic, and rarely, if ever, acknowledge the feminist debate in geography. For example, in her review of the evolution of geographic ideas Buttner (1989) makes no mention at all of the contribution of other female geographers or those who actively identify themselves as feminist. Thus, the phenomenological landscape seems to read as a genderless arena on which humanity enacts some generalist 'lifeworld'. For the purposes of this thesis phenomenological humanist geography can only act as a springboard to theories that engage more fruitfully with individual subjectivity and gender identity.

2.3: Subjective landscapes: preference-based versus psychoanalytic approaches.

Now, I come to notions of landscape informed by psychoanalytic approaches (Burgess et al. 1988a, 1988b), and explore the reasons for going beyond preference-based landscape perception research. Some of this literature, though not all, is associated with feminist geography, which specifically addresses gender influence (Bondi, 1990; Rose, 1993a, 1993b; Massey, 1994; Connell, 1995; Kirby, 1996; Pile, 1996). Gender and landscape, notably in relation to culture, has also been addressed extensively by anthropology (MacCormack & Strathern, 1980; Bender, 1993; Hirsch & O'Hanlon, 1995). The major advantage of drawing on the psychoanalytic and the feminist approach has been the acknowledgement of the complexity of individual subjectivity.

Complex individual subjectivity has a history of being inadequately researched or acknowledged in geography. In particular this tradition has been sustained by the kind of purely quantitative or partly qualitative environmental perception research promoted by the behavioural-orientated school of geography. With some justification this is criticised by Steve Pile (1996). He notes that the behaviouralists ignore psychoanalysis, regarding it as engaging with the 'irrational', 'unconscious', which is seen as biological and instinctual and thereby 'unalterable'

(Pile, 1996:28). Instead, researchers such as Garling & Golledge (1993), and Golledge & Rushton (1976) favour cognitive psychology, which is seen as concerned with 'conscious' perception, which is malleable and open to change. However, as Pile notes, and I concur, this approach misses a huge area of human experience, and ignores the processes of the unconscious in the human psyche, which far from being mere instinctive biology is more convincingly the mainspring of 'overt' and 'covert spatial behaviour' (Pile, 1996:29). However, one writer, Tony Hiss (1990), apparently inspired by researchers in environmental perception such as Stephen and Rachel Kaplan (1989) and Ervin Zube (see Sell & Zube 1986) attempts to articulate subjective experience. Although Hiss writes with the aim of bringing attention to environmental issues and improving community awareness of local landscape, he starts out, somewhat unusually², from his own subjective - sensory and emotional - experience of walking through the Grand Central Terminal, New York. Hiss then extrapolates the impact of this experience outwards to a general discussion based on informal anecdotal talks with a great number of people in rural and urban locations in the Eastern States. Hiss argues that people react to places: 'consciously and unconsciously' and that reactions are part of a 'continuum' (Hiss, 1990:xi). He concludes that by encouraging people to become aware with what he calls, 'experiential watchfulness' (1990:222) local people can become actively involved in future planning which sustains the richness of local landscape. Therefore, even if Hiss is not specifically concerned with the processes whereby people perceive landscape and the relation between their perception and identity, he does represent that body of literature that attempts to break ground away from purely preference-orientated quantitative research, seeking to acknowledge the part played by the unconscious in the processes of perception. Hugh Matthews & Melanie Limb (1999) in their discussion of landscape perception research in children, note the importance of recognising the richness and intricacy of children's lived experience, and of adequately addressing intersections of gender, location and opportunity which inform subjective experience and social interaction in different age groups. They encourage

² Hiss is not alone, however, in describing his own experience. Anne Buttimer (1976) and Edward Relph (1976) also expound their own phenomenological perceptions of landscape in this way. But unlike Buttimer and Relph, Hiss does not attempt to produce generalisations but uses his description to encourage empathy and stimulate discussion on environmental issues with other people.

methodologies which ‘engage with the lifeworld ... in the ‘here and now’, and outline the multiplicity of a child’s experience within their local environment. I suggest Matthews’ & Limb’s argument is equally relevant for researchers such as myself who primarily work with adults, but who can confidently echo almost precisely the same range of issues that tend to be treated inadequately if approached from ‘narrow disciplinary perspectives’ (1999:82).

An example of a rigorous, psychoanalytic approach, is demonstrated in seminal research conducted in the late 1980s by Jacquelin Burgess, Melanie Limb and Carolyn Harrison (1988a & 1988b). Their work, concerning subjectivity and environment, using methodology which draws on psychoanalytic techniques, has proved inspirational and supportive for this thesis. Burgess et al. initiated, for geography, an unusual and highly innovative research methodology, applying the practice and theory of psychoanalytic small groups to an in-depth qualitative study of adult perception of local ‘open spaces’. Burgess et al. deliberately chose an in-depth small group approach, drawing on S. H. Foulkes’ theories of group dynamics. The methodology proved highly effective for several reasons. Firstly, small group psychoanalytic techniques in weekly group sessions, facilitated an exacting and productive in-depth exploration of ‘environmental values’ and experience, including the acknowledgement of the importance of sensory experience of local landscape. Secondly, Burgess et al. deliberately wanted to go further than the more usual ‘one-off’ discussion group or interview, which they argued tends to only engage with ‘superficial’ stereotypes. They proved that this kind of research approach was not only possible, but also was an excellent means of encouraging exchange with participants which opened up new areas of experience that may never have emerged in other research settings. Their use of psychotherapeutic techniques, most particularly that of skilled facilitation of small group dynamics and the time they gave to allow trust and empathy to develop within the group, enabled individuals to share both positive and negative feelings, fantasies and experience. More than any other research to date, this work was able to demonstrate the complexity of an individual’s landscape perception, and the intersections of class, race, gender, age, personal opportunity and experience in this process.

Thirdly, Jacquelin Burgess drew on her existing experience of small group psychoanalysis, and being conversant with Foulkes' theory, understood from both a practical and theoretical perspective the process, the skills required and the limitations of small group techniques. In doing so, she introduced a means of working with research participants which has potential to explore areas of unconscious experience that are quite beyond the average focus group, or one-off interview style of qualitative methods. Burgess intimated there were deeply ethical reasons for using this kind of methodology. Psychotherapeutic methods demand a proper attention to individual or group dynamics to facilitate the work, in order to avoid damage to participants by inappropriate intervention, or inappropriate use of the research group as a therapeutic space. This kind of approach requires specific skills, sensitivity and reflexivity on the part of the researcher, and although demanding and exacting can prove highly rewarding and productive. For the specific purposes of this thesis I have chosen to draw on the work of D.W. Winnicott together with a range of humanistic psychotherapeutic skills. But, I share with Burgess et al. broadly similar principles in the practice and ethics of psychoanalysis.

In the course of Burgess et al.'s group work they recognised that sensory experience of landscape was an important part of landscape perception. However, although they acknowledge sensory perception, there seemed to be no way in which they were able to facilitate more enquiry in this area. Indeed there is very little empirical research in sensory aspects of landscape perception outside of environmental psychology and behavioural geography (Hartig & Evans, 1993; Garling & Golledge, 1993; Bonnes & Secchiaroli, 1995). As noted above these two approaches have tended towards quantitative or partly qualitative methods, which are frequently preference-based, and often fail to engage with unconscious associations. Thus, an individual's subjective experience is ignored, along with complex intersections of unconscious associations, memories, gender identity and socio-cultural factors that may prove powerful influences in sensory perception. Yet, to some anthropologists such as Tim Ingold (2000), the sensory experience of landscape is considered of vital importance, and Ingold cites several studies that

record cultural and individual differences in sensory perception of landscape (Classen, 1993; Gell, 1975; Hull, 1997). Various writers, such as Hiss (1990) and Spirn (1998) have recorded their own subjective accounts, and discussed their own observations of the phenomenon of sensory perception in relation to landscape. Don Gifford (1990) provides an historical account of sensory perception of landscape largely engaging with literary sources, yet none of these works attempt to engage with theories of subjectivity and sensory perception. Thus, they stand as intriguing, even inspirational, but somewhat isolated work in relation to the general body of literature on landscape perception. There is also a small theoretical literature on senses and landscape in geography (Lowenthal, 1976; Daniels, 1993; Rodaway 1994, 1995; Smith, 1994) but I have found little in these works that attempt to truly connect with the multiplicity and complexity of an individual's everyday lived experience of their local landscape. Still less is there an engagement with gender issues in this context. This thesis is deeply engaged with early experience of landscape, of which sensory experience is integral, so the lack of empirical research on this aspect of landscape perception has proved both stimulating and challenging. Only psychoanalysis has provided a more fruitful literature in terms of methodology designed to facilitate sensory experience; sources that are discussed in detail later in the thesis include art therapy, and the theory and practice of sandplay (Lyddiatt, 1970; Lowenfeld, 1979; Kalff, 1980; Dalley, 1984; Ryce-Menuhin, 1992; Mitchell & Friedman, 1994).

2.4: Gendered landscapes: gender identity in relation to landscape

Although landscape perception in general has commanded an impressive volume of literature, landscape in relation to gender, and vice versa, is less often at the forefront of either theoretical or empirical research. Gender theory has been the subject of keen and continuing interest for feminists and others in psychology and sociology. Frequent links between landscape, environment and gender occur in ecofeminist environmental philosophy (see Merchant, 1980, 1992, 1996; Biehl, 1991; Plumwood, 1993) and in anthropological theory and fieldwork (see Ardener, 1975; MacCormack & Strathern, 1980; Bender, 1993; Morphy, 1995; Green, 1995). However, geography in general, and writers in landscape perception in particular,

have tended to leave gender issues unquestioned (Nesmith & Radcliffe, 1993; Rose, 1993). The few exceptions to this pattern range from debates that centre around gender and cosmology or myth, and various essentialist versions of gender relations on the land (see Tuan, 1974; Cosgrove & Daniels, 1988; Porteous, 1990; Short, 1991; Pigram, 1993; Cosgrove, 1993; Olwig, 1993) to a comparatively small, though vociferous, theoretical literature on the subject of gender and landscape which has emerged from feminist geographers (Rose, 1993a, 1993b, 1994; Bondi, 1992; McDowell, 1983, 1993a, 1993b; Massey, 1994; Monk & Norwood, 1987; Anderson & Gale, 1992; Nash, 1994, 1996). An overview of the gender environment debate is also found in Susan Buckingham-Hatfield (2000) and the Women and Geography Study Group (1997).

One outstanding feature of literature concerning landscape and gender, with the exception of feminist geographers, is the essentialist element in much of the writing. For instance, J. Douglas Porteous (1990) argues that the reason there is a particular emphasis of female body and landscape in landscape literature is because the male traditionally dominates his land territory, and also his female's territory. The male regards that which he overlords as beneath him, and views the land as beneath him. The land he sees as mother, the mother close to Nature by dint of the birthing process. Thus, the land that is Nature is female. Porteous' analysis is interesting arising as it does from a male perspective, and his view is shared by other authors, both male and female (see Kolodny, 1975). But, as I note in Chapter One, any wholesale acceptance of the notion of landscape perceived culturally as female is problematic, since it precludes individual differences, individual subjectivity and the underlying politics of gender that landscape mirrors.

For instance, Gillian Rose (1993a) points out if the 'gaze' upon the landscape is male, portrayed from a heterosexual, masculinist perspective through art and literature, it is difficult to imagine landscape escaping female connotations. In contrast, Catherine Nash (1996) in discussing the visual representation of landscape refutes the idea of a masculinist 'gaze', contending that landscape can equally be subject to a 'feminist' gaze. She illustrates her argument by drawing on the work of

two women artists, Diane Baylis and Pauline Cummins, who portray landscape as male. Thus, Nash argues, the body of landscape can be viewed as male as much as female. For both Rose (1993a) and Nash (1996) even though they might differ in emphasis, landscape portrayal is historically used to emphasise gender power relations. Doreen Massey (1994), as a geographer looking at landscape from a female perspective, vividly describes her experience as a small child looking at the football fields around Manchester and feeling “they had all been given over to the boys” (1994:185). Massey argues that gendered spaces reflect gendered constructs and these in turn are manifest in the economy and planning of public space and place, or in other words in the power relations manifest in perceived cultural gender roles and differences. Liz Bondi (1992) (see also Bondi & Christie, 2000) argues a similar point in her discussion of overt symbols of gender in urban landscape. She observes that inasmuch as architecture is a powerful reflection of various gender constructs, changes in planning and development of urban spaces reflect fluidity and change in constructions and notions of gender.

Some of the fiercest debates about gender and landscape have emerged out of ecofeminism. Initially, the term ecofeminism was used by Françoise d'Eaubonne in 1974 to create a link between feminism and ecology, and engage feminists in the environmental movement (Merchant, 1990). Ecofeminism has attracted a highly political following: d'Eaubonne herself came from a Marxist position, closely followed by others such as social ecologist Murray Bookchin (1989) who founded the Institute of Social Ecology in Vermont in the mid-1970s. Since the 1970s ecofeminism has maintained a radical stance in the environmental movement, with powerful women such as Marie Mies and Vandana Shiva (1993) taking on major environmental battles, using essentialist, and as I discuss below, often contested principles of ecofeminism as a theoretical base. Whilst I am not concerned in this thesis with the complexities of the political movements engaged with ecofeminism, there are two issues which are relevant here, around which debates in ecofeminism have tended to polarise. The major issue, which I discuss in detail below, is the notion of essentialist gender. Essentialism is primarily the argument of cultural ecofeminists (see Spretnak, 1994, 1990; Gunn Allen, 1990). The other issue is that of

a notion of a socially constructed gender, an argument arising from social ecofeminists (Buckingham-Hatfield, 2000). For instance, social ecofeminist Janet Biehl (1991) argues that gender is a social construct (see also Chodorow, 1974; Ortner, 1974; Connell, 1995). Biehl contends that gender roles are determined and created by social and cultural influences, thus essentialist concepts are constructed out of, and support, existing gender power relations. I return to the notion of socially constructed gender roles at various points below and again in Chapter Six.

As Gillian Rose (1993a) suggests, there is potentially great empowerment in the notion of there being some universal 'essential' quality in women which by dint of our reproductive role assures some special relationship with Nature. This relationship arises through women's 'connectedness' with the body, via the 'natural rhythms' of menstruation, birth and childcare, which along the way appears to confer an age-old and mythic 'wisdom'. She cites Susan Griffin (1978) who, through the use of powerful continuous poetic prose, describes what is fundamentally a Cartesian dualistic vision of essential Women 'naturally' in harmonious communion with Nature, versus essential Man abstracted from Nature in the world of machines and science. Such notions of a 'natural' feminine 'essence' are given an even more radical voice by Mary Daly (1978:11). She argues that to save the world women must wrest back their power from patriarchy, and that this will involve reclaiming Mother Nature and women's 'natural' affinity with Nature by 'naming our wisdom, spinning and weaving world tapestries out of genesis and demise'. Both these authors in their time - the late 1970s - offered opportunities for empowerment and provided great inspiration for many women (among whom I have to place myself). However, as Rose (1993a) and Val Plumwood (1993) point out, there are serious problems with the essentialist argument (see also Merchant, 1990; 1994). Whilst Rose concurs that there are some useful elements of essentialism - for instance, essentialism supports gender differences, which, if lost creates a potentially oppressive situation of women having to be like men (and vice versa) - she also notes that essentialism ignores differences between women, and equally differences between men. Differences between women, and between men, ethnically, culturally, and individually confound the essentialist argument. In effect, Rose argues, the irrefutable presence of

individual differences means that essentialism is fundamentally a failed concept. Even anti-essentialists like Monica Wittig (1981) (who suggests women, when as lesbians placed outside the definitions of women in relation to men, hold a superior position of freedom from violence and control), maintains a position which is, paradoxically, essentialist (Fuss, 1989). Val Plumwood (1993) further takes issue with the idea of dualism inherent in essentialist arguments, suggesting for example, that the concept encourages a notion of patriarchal oppression which, valid as that may be, fails to address the 'multiplicity' of oppressions.

The essentialism debate around gender and landscape that surfaces in ecofeminism proves far from being solved simply by applying feminism, or more recently masculinist studies, to balance the sexuality scales. Both Rose (1993a) and Plumwood (1993) suggest there are complex issues around dualism and essentialism. These issues are not confined to ecofeminism but are central to the wider dilemma surrounding gender identity. In order to develop some working definition of gender identity that offers insight into the relationship between gender identity and landscape the issue of essentialism versus subjective gender identity needs some exploration (Butler, 1990,1993; Copjec, 1994; Bell et al. 1994; Bell & Valentine, 1995; Cream, 1995; Esterberg, 1996; Lorber, 1996; Fuss, 1989). For instance, do we essentialise and lose the individual, or individualise and miss the essentialism? Is gender identity singular and of essence, or a multiplicity of possibilities that defy a dualistic definition? Can gender be separated from sex, as culture from biology, or is gender, as Judith Butler (1990) argues, an acculturated, individualised performance? Perhaps unsurprisingly, some of the most cogent debates have been stimulated by and emerge from the margins, where gay and lesbian critiques highlight the socially-constructed nature of gender as opposed to gender as pure biology (Wittig, 1981; Fuss, 1989; Bell et al.,1994; Dhairyam, 1994; Cream, 1995). However, as Judith Butler (1990, 1994) reminds us, gender and sexual identity are far from resolved and the relation between them is a continually contested ground. Thus, the intangible nature of the construction of gender identity becomes apparent the more we examine the cultural assumptions that shore up our collective understanding of both gender and sexual identity. The defining of gender in order to research its influence as a

component of human experience leads to a re-thinking of what is meant by the term 'gender'.

2.4.1: Wriggling out of essentialism: is masculine to feminine as male to female?

In feminist theory, as I discuss above in ecofeminism, 'essence' and 'essentialism' are contentious terms (Rose, 1993a). The terms are generally used in relation to 'difference': the two being set in binary opposition to each other (Fuss, 1989). Essence, used in this context is said to be a 'true', 'unchanging' constitutive of a person or thing: essentialism, then, is a belief in this essence. Diana Fuss (1989) notes the problems of such fixed beliefs: men and women are seen, in this instance, to be stable, unchanging entities. Such definitions pave the way to a reductionist, biological determinism with only perhaps a seasoning of cultural influence. To pursue Fuss's objection, this rigid *view* of essentialism generates a rigid *version* of essentialism, and she argues that maybe 'essences can change' (Fuss, 1989:6). Maybe, she suggests, there could be 'essentialisms' within people. This is resonant of Gayatri Spivak's notion of 'strategic essentialisms', whereby people choose their essentialist stance according to the expediency of the moment (see Fuss, 1989). Fuss describes identity generally as contingent and open to change, and she specifically does not risk floating into the uncharted ocean of undifferentiation. Gender is in constant flux, agrees Jane Flax (1990b), because gender as relational to culture is then subject to the shifts of gender construction within a culture. Presumably we cannot abandon the idea of essentialisms: those too can exist in flux. For example, Gibson-Graham (1994) set the traditional images of masculine and feminine against a much more dynamic backcloth of changing identities. They ally their argument to that of Ferguson who they cite as;

'advocate[ing] constant movement between the (strategically essentialised) representation of women's experience and the (strategically non-essentialised) deconstructivist practice of undermining fixed categories of identity and gender.' (Gibson-Graham, 1994:214)

If the subject is able to subvert and change gender identities, whether as is argued these identities are performed in a nihilistic mid-air, or expressed from a continually

reforming inner self, the fact of the existence of a subject does not obviate the existence of a reflective, dynamic 'core' of self-defined identity. This core is capable of transmutation, of performing, and of strategically changing its expression of a self-definition open to subversion or stability. Susan Murray (1996) points out that the nature of gender as a construction built out of the interactions between individuals and institutional structures means that gender is always in a state of ongoing process within those interactions, a continual "doing of gender", in which one is constantly in a "reassessment of one's gendered attributes." (Murray, 1996: 370-371). The act of reassessment reaffirms the notion that there is a self, a substantial subject who is assessor.

There is an interpretation of perceived gender differences firstly by the primary carers of the infant and child, and secondly by the individual as they themselves grow into adulthood, and thence as a continuum during the course of their lives. To use Simone de Beauvoir's argument in the defining of 'woman', one can talk of: "'woman'... as... not a completed reality, but rather a becoming", (Beauvoir, 1949:66) - rather than *being* a woman as some biological absolute, beyond the absolutes of biology. The idea of 'becoming' gender, of 'performing' gender can be applied to both men and women, indeed to both Man and Woman. I would suggest that 'becoming' and learning the performance of gender, through well-rehearsed and multiply-interpreted practices is an idea that actually rests happily in the axiom of humanism. This idea allows the existence of a Self that is at once that sense of self-identity that can be acted *upon*, yet simultaneously acted *through* and *from*, and thus be in a continual state of *becoming*. Such a concept of gendering avoids "falling into the trap of cultural determinism" (Butler, 1993:x). A trap, she argues, that stifles the reality of people's experience as individuals continually in conscious and unconscious performance. A place where individuals are continually interpreting and internalising cultural norms of gender, whilst simultaneously comparing the external to the internal, and then adjusting and developing their gender essence in an act of becoming. There is a point when, as Jane Flax (1990b) notes, awareness of our gender relations becomes a conscious experience. While we do not necessarily require to be alert to our gender identity consciously, we self-

define from within ourselves in a mutable and continual re-creation. We may, by dint of personal inhibition and conventions that prove to be powerful sanctions on individualistic behaviour, choose not to move outside the cultural mores. The existence of a reflective, self-defined identity is not made redundant by constraints of external behaviour. Our internal sense of gender identity and its moment to moment re-forming is subtly played out in different body-languages or ways of thinking and dreaming in the world.

The relatively small amount of empirical research into the presence and influence of gender in landscape perception, which is of particular relevance to this thesis, tends to support the arguments of both feminist geographers' and gender theorists such as Jane Flax (1990a, 1990b) and Diana Fuss (1989), suggesting that the development of landscape reflects gender power relations. They encourage a notion of a mutable, self-defining gender identity that makes use of essentialisms rather than be determined by them. Thus, the gendering of landscape may be considerably more influenced by socio-cultural constructions and personal experience than is suggested by essentialist arguments arising from some ecofeminist theorists. So, perception of landscape in some part acts as a reflection of existing gender relations.

Empirical research emerges mostly from two sources, anthropological fieldwork and sociological research into environmental issues. Environmental research has seemed to support notions of culturally constructed relationships between gender and landscape. For instance, Paul Stern, Thomas Dietz and Linda Kalof (1993) conducted a study into gender differences in relation to environmental concern. Exploring value orientations, gender and environmental concern, they found differences between women and men in terms of consequences of action but equal concerns about environmental values. They attributed the difference in concern to be influenced by women's increased involvement with their children and the domestic sphere, and their alertness to dangers that could affect their children's health. This concern appeared to be countered by men's increased awareness of economic well-

being that meant they were more likely to be concerned with abstract economic structures outside of the home. They concluded that their findings confirmed existing

‘feminist theory that women tend to see a world of inherent interconnections, whereas men tend to see a world of clearly separate subjects and objects.’
(Stern et al., 1993: 340)

In another similar study Joachim Schahn and Erwin Holzer (1990) looked at gender differences in environmental concern and the role of knowledge and other variables. They found, like Stern et al., that gender differences existed, apparently to do with knowledge about environmental issues connected with gender roles. Women were as able to appreciate environmental problems as men, but often had a local, domestic perspective. Men were more knowledgeable at a broader but more abstract level. Schahn & Holzer suggested that the interplay with gender roles and a gendered environmental concern, was due to women being associated with the domestic, the local, the personal; as opposed to men who worked away from the home, and were involved in the public and the impersonal. Thus, men had less practical knowledge about the effects of a particular event or process than women, although men might understand the theory very well. Both these studies suggest a strong relationship between gender roles in a culture and environmental perception. But their findings are problematic, as neither group of researchers investigates the processes by which these roles and identities are produced, nor do they attempt to acknowledge individual or collective disjuncture or difference within cultural gender stereotypes that might challenge existing theory.

In contrast Robert Connell (1990, 1995) in his studies of masculinity and the environment finds a powerful argument for a considerably more complex range of gender possibilities in relation to landscape. Connell’s work is unusual in actively exploring the male attitude to environment as a specific phenomenon, and in the way he examines the whole construction of the masculine in much the same way as feminists have pried apart the constructed feminine. He places this constructed whole into an environmental context. Connell talked with six Australian men who had become environmental activists. He found that for these men to begin to connect with the environment and landscape at a profoundly different level it was necessary

for them to “remake” their construction of masculinity, which meant “undoing the effects of Oedipal masculinization” and also move towards a ‘collective politics’ (1995:135). Connell’s findings suggest a shift of the masculine has occurred in these men away from simply abstract concepts of land, towards ‘feminine’ interconnections in the landscape. Connell’s findings resonate with those of Stern et al. (1993), who had previously identified recognition of interconnections associated with the essentialist feminine. However, Connell concludes that gender influence and gender differences in the context of the landscape and environment are open to change and capable of crossing constructed boundaries.

Anthropologists have also worked extensively with the theory of cultural construction. Some anthropological analysis, in similar ways to Connell’s work, challenges underlying assumptions of gendered landscape perception. Carol MacCormack & Marilyn Strathern (1980) place emphasis on a structural analysis of gender and nature perception, in which they make use of notions of essential feminine and masculine and identify culturally constructed elements of gender, boldly applying this analysis to various fieldwork studies (Ardener, 1975; Gillison, 1980; Harris, 1980). MacCormack & Strathern argue that there is potential and continual transformation in cultural structures, and that contradictions are inherent in any individual culture. This argument is pursued by Howard Morphy (1995) in his fieldwork with the Yolŋa aboriginal people in southern Australia. The landscape for the Yolŋa was clearly gendered in myth and dreamtime. While Morphy observes that both the clan as a whole, and individual members of the clan, had relationships with particular areas of landscape that transcended gender differences, biological differences in life processes and ritual associated with the land also existed. For instance, processes of conception, birth and death would be enacted in specific, appropriate places which were themselves gendered, and thus Morphy found that the landscape was experienced as synonymous with the body. In uncovering a notion of the landscape as body, Morphy, whether inadvertently or not, gives credence to theories of the landscape perceived as pre-dominantly female (see Kolodny, 1975; Porteous, 1990; Green, 1995).

2.4.2: Concluding gendered landscape

In this section I have outlined the key debates that are the basis for this thesis in regard to current notions of landscape in geography. There would appear to be two main versions of landscape perception, one that is concerned with theoretical discussion about cultural myths, and/or in the light of gender theory, and the other which arises from theoretical debate and empirical research about subjective experience, also and/or involving gender theory. The first version is impressed by the image of a male-dominated landscape, visually distanced and abstract, able to gaze on a 'natural' female-defined body of landscape: this in contrast to a female-identified domestic, local landscape. The second version notes that the view of landscape as male, or female will be dependent on the perceiver. Feminist geographers and some ecofeminists in particular, amongst a few other lone voices, have challenged underlying assumptions of essentialist gender and the power relations inherent in any unproblematised version of landscape perception. Some anthropologists have also challenged any attempt to formalise or essentialise gender in relation to landscape, and in particular Connell's work suggests notions of disruption in perceived gender differences that influence individuals' perception of landscape.

I have noted that whilst an important shift in approaches to landscape perception arose from the humanistic phenomenological school, the universalism inherent in much of this area of geography fails to take into account either the lived experience of an individual, or acknowledge gender issues beyond an engagement with essentialist notions of gender. In a similar way concepts of landscape as text and metaphor, as icon and myth, also fail to address the subjective experience of landscape, or move beyond essentialist gender. I have identified the work of Jacquelin Burgess, Melanie Limb and Carolyn Harrison as a point of inspiration for the methodology in this thesis, in that their work represents a rare example of using psychoanalytic techniques to explore individual and group landscape perception, which facilitated unconscious associations and often difficult (conscious) feelings to emerge and be shared. I discuss the ways in which psychoanalytic techniques used by Burgess et al. challenged the more usual but superficial, one-off focus group type

of qualitative research methods. However, I note that outside quantitative or theorised accounts of landscape perception very little empirical research has focused on sensory perception of landscape, and still less research has examined the complex intersections between gender identity, sensory perception of landscape: a lack this thesis seeks to redress.

I have identified a small but vociferous literature which debates issues around gender, landscape and environment which has arisen out of feminist geography and ecofeminism. I have discussed the major issues of ecofeminist arguments which are polarised between essentialist gender versus socially constructed gender roles. I suggest that a broader concept of gender than that offered by ecofeminist debates is necessary in order to fully comprehend the complexity of an individual's relationship between gender and landscape. After exploring notions of essentialism versus non-essentialism in gender theory, I look at the idea of a process of self-definition of gender identity which draws upon both individual experience, and opportunities, as well as perceived gender stereotypes. I propose a process in which gender is seen to be in continual creation, unfolding as a process of self-definition. I discuss three pieces of empirical research that support this concept of a self-defining gender identity. I conclude that in any exploration involving gender identity, given the premise that gender is self-defined, requires an individual gender profile to be developed for each participant. I note the arguments of anthropologists which also support the notion of gender identity and gender in relation to landscape as a multiplicity rather than a dualism, and subject to individual difference. In conclusion, I suggest an individual may call upon and relate to gender essentialisms even though as an individual they are themselves impossible to essentialise. I now turn to a discussion of the concept to Self which continues the notion of self-definition.

2.5: Conceptualising Self

In this section I explore the concept of Self according to object relations theory. Although, I include a general discussion on object relations theory and some versions of major contributors to the theory, my emphasis is on the work of Donald Winnicott, largely because of his concept of 'potential space and transitional

phenomena'. The term 'potential space' describes that space between Self and Other; capable of being the repository of 'transitional phenomena', and mediator of relationships between the 'object(s)' of Self and Other, in play, fantasies, dreams and cultural expression. A spatial concept perhaps naturally appeals to geographers. The spatial is geography's central issue thus, any theorist from any other discipline who discusses space, the spatial and the different relationships within space, be it personal, socio-cultural or abstract, is liable to be drawn upon and inadvertently become variously an icon or a talking-point. Winnicott and his potential space has, it seems, relatively recently, become a talking point (Aitken & Herman, 1997; Latham, 1999). Firstly, I define object relations and examine the object relations concept of self. Within this section some problems associated with Winnicott's version of object relations theory are discussed. Secondly, I explore the application of object relations to this thesis.

2.5.1: Defining Object Relations Theory

In this section I define object relations theory by examining the origins and nature of the concept of object relations by the two pioneers of the theory, Melanie Klein and D.W. Winnicott. Object relations theory is an extension of psychoanalytic theory which originated with Sigmund Freud and his work with the Oedipal phase of human development, a process of psycho-sexual/gender differentiation that is observed at three to four years of age. The pioneer of object relations theory was Melanie Klein (1882-1960), an Austrian psychoanalyst who started working in the 1920s, and was herself initially analysed by Sandor Ferenczi, one of Freud's close colleagues and followers (Mitchell, 1986). Flowing out from the Oedipal drama Klein picked up on the concept of oneself and other as 'object'(s) in relationship. She went back to the dream of early infancy, and going beyond Freud's view of the pre-Oedipal infant as a mass of inchoate instinct, Klein endowed the infant with clear feelings and reactions in relationship to mother. She thus established the psychoanalytic emphasis very much earlier than Freud and his theory of the Oedipus Complex.

Klein, the first analyst to use play as an analytic tool, closely observed infants and young children, as well as adults in analysis. From this work she theorised on the quality of our earliest human relationship, through the stages of differentiation and separation. Entering the infant's world she perceived violent, intense emotional conflicts and fantasies that arose from the infantile experience of self and (m)other while in an as yet undifferentiated, dependent state. Complex defence mechanisms were developed as protection from the insoluble ravages of rage, hate, envy, guilt and mourning, that she argued accompanied normal development. Suggesting that the breast as primary object was the focus of these conflicts and fantasies, and later the mother as person, Klein defined a range of defences used by the infant. The first being '*splitting*' the breast/mother into clearly defined 'good' and 'bad'. The second *projecting* these splits onto objects outside of the inner world, or *introjecting* (taking in) qualities of the object. Lastly a process of *projective identification*, which Juliet Mitchell (1986) has described as the infant projecting onto outside objects which s/he then identifies with, becoming like the imagined object. Klein saw infant development as requiring two positions - the paranoid-schizoid and the depressive - to be adopted by the infant to contain the conflicting emotions of rage, anxiety, hate, envy and guilt that arise during breastfeeding through to eventual weaning and finally the Oedipal process. These positions Klein posited are thereafter integrated into the personality and can be the stuff of normality, or at extremes can fuel psychosis and anxiety neurosis.

In another place and process, also starting in the 1920s, a trainee paediatrician, Donald Winnicott happened upon a copy of Freud's "Interpretation of Dreams". This chance encounter propelled Winnicott into observation of very much more than the physical symptomatology of the infants and children in his care. He was inspired to undertake Freudian analysis with James Strachey, and eventually to train as a psychoanalyst. Similar to Klein, but initially independently of her work - Winnicott found himself entering the infant's world and focusing upon the relationship between child and mother. He became a student of Klein for a while, but eventually came to develop object relations theory of a quite different nature from Klein. Winnicott, also like Klein, not only used play as his major analytic tool in the

observation of small children, but theorised the nature of the early environment from analysis of adults, both those in a stable mental condition and those in psychotic states (Davis & Wallbridge, 1981).

Winnicott described the infant in normal development as being in a 'facilitative environment', within which s/he has a creative interrelationship between his/her "ordinary good-enough" mother and his/herself as the "ordinary" infant. The relationship is based in empathy, and sensitive attention, which Winnicott saw as a natural, ordinary observable state for infant and primary carer. Winnicott came eventually to oppose Klein's view of development, which he felt 'pathologised normal development', and which he argued ascribed an emotional sophistication that was beyond the infant to command (Phillips, 1988; Winnicott, 1950). His language of the normal process includes stages, but for example, instead of Klein's label of 'depressive' he uses 'concern' to describe the stage when the infant develops awareness of the mother as separate object, capable of being hurt by the infant's needs/desires. He relegated the paranoid-schizoid stage to a state of continued frustration, where an infant is kept waiting for comfort or food. Envy was also pathology, a reaction to a 'tantalising mother'. All the intense fantasies and conflicts that Klein theorised as normal, Winnicott pathologised as reaction to abnormal or excessive 'environmental impingement' and symptomatic of the breakdown - temporarily or permanently - of the empathetic interrelationship. The so-called Kleinian schizoid defence seems to have been transformed out of all recognition in Winnicottian terms into a finely tuned exploration of the concept of a True and False Self, which is discussed in more detail below (Winnicott, 1962; 1960a). The classification of a schizoid state Winnicott was careful to assign to psychiatry rather than a stage of normal development.

Perhaps, the most important area of object relations theory as developed by Winnicott lies in his idea of "potential space" and the use of a "transitional object" . These concepts are a vital key to his perception of the essentially creative nature of the infant/mother (or primary carer) relationship. The creation of potential space was initially signified by the infant's use of an external or 'transitional' object of which

the first is the breast, but later may be a soft toy or blanket etc. This external object represents in the infant's fantasy neither the inner nor the outside world of objects. Instead the transitional object is a mediator between inner (Me) and outer (Not-Me) worlds, and is used to develop the potential space; a space that carries the dynamic, creative relationship of all objects, a third space, an in-between world's space.³ Winnicott suggested that in childhood this space is the place of play, which he regards as an essential activity. Potential space is where the child can relax into an 'unintegrated' state, which Winnicott defines as a state where the individual is neither totally integrated in relationship to reality, nor experiencing a sense of disintegration. So 'unintegration' is a 'daydream-like' state where fantasy, dreams and the real world can meet, and sense be made of the nature and interrelationship of inner and outer objects and worlds. In adulthood, Winnicott theorised, potential space mediates culture and the expression of the individual in culture through art, dreams, fantasy, music, drama, literature, and stories (Winnicott, 1951). While in this space, Winnicott observed, one enters the state of 'unintegration' of self, and thus a fluid, dynamic flow out of which can emerge ideas, resolutions, relaxation and new ways of being in the world. In a normal development pattern the very fact of a fundamental empathy, via the creation of the facilitative environment between carer and infant, enables the infant's creation of transitional objects and potential space.

2.5.2: Object Relations and multiple versions of Self

As pioneers of object relations theory Klein and Winnicott are seen to diverge considerably by the end of their working lives. Nowhere is this divergence more obvious than on the concept of Self. Klein appears not to have been concerned primarily with theorising about the nature of self (Craib, 1989). She put most of her attention upon the analysis of relationship and the feelings, fantasies and defences that each party brought to the relationship (Mitchell, 1986). Winnicott was concerned with the relationship, but he also spent a great deal of time concentrating on the nature and structure of the Self who either actively related to Other, or chose to remain 'incommunicado' (Winnicott, 1962,1960a). Since his work other theorists

³ Homi Bhabha (1990; 1994) discusses the 'Third Space' but this is specifically about colonial, post-colonial, racial experience, identity and the in-between spaces in these contexts.

have engaged in similar musings (Bollas, 1989; Wright, 1991; Mollon, 1993; Mitchell, 1993). There are some major similar features of the Self described by these object relations theorists.

Fundamental to object relations theory of self seems to be the idea of the self as 'unknowable'. Whether individual theorists believe in core or non-core self there seems to be general agreement that to know the self is impossible. The self has elements that feel real, and conversely the self can feel false, incoherent, fragmented. In these states the individual frequently appears to be in a state of distress and either not able to function in the world at all or only uncomfortably, ineffectually or with difficulty (Winnicott, 1960a). Thus, as Phillips (1988) points out, Winnicott appeared to uphold an essentialist notion of a 'True Self', the 'essence' of which was experienced as located within the body. But, for Winnicott the concept of a True self was far from essentialist. His concept was of a *self-determining* sense of Self, a Self that could be no more defined than: 'collect[ing] together details of the experience of aliveness' (1960a:148); a sense of self that was whatever felt real for an individual at any given point in time. Winnicott saw self as comprising a "...non-communicating self, or the personal core of self that is a true isolate" (Winnicott, 1963c:182). This core he suggests is the True Self, which was a still place inside, a place that for the sake of health has to exist in silence exercising the right *not* to communicate. The individual's major defence is the creation of a False Self, which may itself go to extremes, even suicide, to protect this True Self (Winnicott, 1960). An individual, according to Winnicott, can only feel real if they are operating from the True Self..." but the true self must never be affected by external reality, must never comply. When the false self becomes exploited and treated as real there is a growing sense in the individual of futility and despair" (Winnicott, 1959:133).

Hence Stephen Mitchell (1993) describes a sense of (True) self as authentic. Christopher Bollas (1989) terms this authenticity as personal 'idiom'. Phil Mollon (1993) suggests an experience of self is conveyed through a sense of coherence and constancy. When the self is experienced in these ways the individual appears to be in a state of feeling 'themselves', and apparently able to operate in the world relatively

coherently. The self is experienced via both a conscious and unconscious function at different levels of consciousness, as for example, manifested and expressed through dreams, fantasy, conscious thinking, and conversations with oneself. The self can be experienced as multiple or unitary at different times and different circumstances and at different stages of human development (Wright, 1991). Fundamentally, object relations theorists regard the self as an experience of 'being' which cannot be ignored. Therefore, people do appear to experience themselves as self or selves, even though the definition is notoriously difficult and controversial, as I discussed in relation to Butler's gender theory. One classic way that object relations theorists have investigated self is via the *abnormal* states; e.g. psychopathology of various sorts. Observations made via this route have tended to enlighten our understanding of the experience of self when we are in 'normal' states (Winnicott, 1962,1963c). From his observation of infants, children and adults Winnicott theorised that the self appears to gradually develop from birth to adult maturity as an integral part of the human, and in adulthood relate to the inner world (inner object(s)(selves/self) and outer world (outer object(s)) from this baseline of a sense of self/selves.

2.5.3: Counter-Winnicott

There are, as with any theorist, areas that are problematic. One area in particular needs some attention with Winnicott, that of the father, and the absence of father. Adam Phillips (1988) suggests that this omission occurs because of Winnicott's own experience of his father. Winnicott's early memories of his father are of a distant figure who left Winnicott's care entirely to his mother and two older sisters. Fathers thus did not apparently play an active part in his parenting beyond protection and provision for the 'mothers'. Winnicott appears to support the status quo of fathers protecting good enough mothers. His cultural and historical context is a possible reason for Winnicott's apparent disregard for fathers as significant in early infancy. Winnicott was working from the 1920s to the 1950s. His outlook would have been moulded by the societal norms of the day. Fathers went out to work. Mothers stayed home, or if forced to work, organised older sisters to provide childcare. In his clinic, Winnicott would have seen - and this is borne out in the examples he gives of clinical cases - children with their mothers rather than with

their fathers. These were in the days before the emergence of more liberal attitudes to fathers taking a active part in childrearing. (Perhaps it is worth noting that Winnicott's omission would not be so out of place in the early twenty-first century, as so far it is not marked for any wholesale shift in the role of fathers as primary carers either). Winnicott was not challenging norms in terms of childcare. At times his almost sacred attitude to the mother coupled with the almost complete lack of the father in the early infant's world does seem 'irksome' (Aitken & Herman, 1997). Perhaps, had he been more enlightened he might have criticised those norms. Instead, through his terminology and emphasis on the mother in early infant care, he appears to have played into the hands of those who espoused the traditional patriarchal model. His mission, giving papers on the radio, to women's institutes, social workers, mother's groups, the police and so on, perhaps heightens this view. This was particularly apparent in the post-WW2 period, when the old stereotypes were being pursued most vigorously in a backlash against the temporary women's liberation in work and men's roles during the war years.

However, as Craib (1989) notes, some of the criticism outlined above fails to recognise what Winnicott was also saying in relation to the primary carer: that the primary carer did not need to be the biological mother, and not necessarily women need take on the role. In this respect Nancy Chodorow (1974,1994), who has spoken out forcefully for recognition of the intersections of gender and class in object relations, has found certain useful aspects in the theory, although she too criticises the apparent lack of awareness of conditioned gendering. But both Winnicott and Chodorow align on the point that the object of the infant's early relating can be male or female, biological parent or not; society determines the 'norm', rather than the infant's actually needing the specific mother. Although, Winnicott's description of the 'primary maternal preoccupation', a state that mothers appear to withdraw into around the birth and for several months following, suggests that the biological mother is uniquely placed in relation to her infant's early care.

At a fundamental level, in those very early months of total dependency, crucially, it seems for successful future maturation, the biological mother finds

herself in a state of heightened sensitivity towards her infant. However, a different primary carer called upon to look after the infant is presumably capable of consciously entering this state, should the biological mother be unable to care for the child. In the same vein, some fathers can cultivate a successful empathy with the infant. There are a number of corollaries attached to this concept of the 'primary maternal preoccupation'. However much the theorists dislike the possibility of a need for a biological mother, the fact remains that such a heightened state has been reported by mothers and their observers (Craib, 1989). Differences to this state are found in mothers who, it could be said, have some issues in their own history with the whole business of giving birth and caring for a very young infant, or at its extreme, mothers who experience some mental or emotional disturbances post-natally. An important point to emphasise is that Winnicott is referring to very early infancy: for the mother pre-birth, and for both mother and infant in the first few months. Without entering too deeply into a debate that goes beyond this general discussion of object relations theory, by about the age of six months the process of ego development and maturation has entered a different phase. The mother and child are seen to be gradually, but more intensely involved in the long process of separation and differentiation. Although the mother may always be sensitive to her child, she will not generally re-enter the earlier definite state of absorption with the child.

Perhaps too though, critics ignore Winnicott's fundamental concern, namely that the infant has to have the vital opportunity of developing in an environment of empathy, trust and adequate attention. He makes this point repeatedly throughout his theorising. Without 'good enough' empathy from the primary carer the infant simply fragments psychically, the signs of which emerge either in childhood as bodily symptoms, eating or other developmental problems, or later in life in the form of psychosis or some other type of mental breakdown (Winnicott, 1962). Rightly or wrongly, Winnicott was not focused specifically on socio-cultural issues. The study of child care in the social context, he seemed to suggest, was primarily the domain of those specific theorists and practitioners, as opposed to theorists of child

development (Winnicott, 1959), though, he clearly hoped that theorists of care and development would eventually become allies.

Craib (1989) points out the dangers of social theory when it collides with object relations theory. He suggests that social theory 'binds' and 'invades people's space' by denying their space and the potential creativity and personal responsibility inherent in each person's space. The theoretical positioning practised by social theorists, Craib's criticism suggests, acts like concrete and forestalls dynamics of change and individual responsibility. The labelling and definitions have a deadening effect and immediately split theory away from lived experience. An example of the dangers of this theoretical positioning is seen, I think, in cultural geographers theorising as in parts of Aitken & Herman (1997) in their discussion of Winnicott as a useful theory to apply to geographical concepts of space and child development. They twice accuse of Winnicott of reductionism, first in his account of separation and individuation and of 'hiding power relations' in that perspective, and second in his notions of potential space and play. Not only does their claim remain unsupported but they later give examples and direct their discussion in ways that clearly shows Winnicott suggesting a 'framework' that 'allows the possibility of a flexible manipulation of meanings and relationships.' (Aitken & Herman, 1997:74): hardly the words of a reductionist. Social/cultural theory - sociological or geographic - would like to be able to define and pigeon hole object relations theory it seems, but in practise finds the task problematic.

There may be two reasons for this difficulty. Firstly, object relations theory, perhaps more than other psychoanalytic concepts and theories, is hard to confine and apply at a socio-cultural level, except by an extension that automatically requires empirical observation. Winnicott, himself, was extraordinarily able to provide the observation, and thus bring the theory to birth successfully, alive and kicking, and forever flexible and creative. Generalising *abstractly* within and around object relations seems to render the theory immovable, full of fault-lines, dichotomies, contradictions. The theory demands empirical realisation, or it becomes full of all the

contraflows and uncertainties of individual human beings, and impossible to define in terms of social theory.

Secondly, a concrete definition is problematic because the theory applies to and attempts to describe the changeable, dynamic 'third' or potential space' and 'interrelations' that are developed and realised within that space. In that sense, object relations theory could be aligned productively to the schools of the highly experiential psychotherapeutics of Gestalt and Humanistic Psychotherapy, where the theory is drawn from individual subjective and objective observation, the multiples of individual perceptions, interpretations, and dynamics, consequently staying closely allied to the lived experience. Something of this quality of releasing the stranglehold of over-burdensome and deadening theory is present in the work of Christopher Bollas, a contemporary object relations theorist, who has developed the original ideas and yet apparently maintained the certain original areas of freshness and freedom (Bollas, 1987; 1989; 1992; 1995). In part, this process may be due precisely because Bollas holds open the space of individual experience to transformatory events.

2.5.4: Theories of Self applied: space, objects, and location

Winnicott attempts to explore his theory of potential space as the location of cultural experience and in doing so develops his ideas on infant and adult process (Winnicott, 1967a). In a quote from Rabindrath Tagore "On the seashore of endless worlds, children play" Winnicott notes how:

‘When I first became a Freudian I *knew* what it meant. The sea and the seashore represented endless intercourse between man and woman, and the child emerged from this union to have a brief moment before becoming in turn adult or parent. Then as a student of unconscious symbolism, I *knew* (one always *knows*) that the sea is the mother, and onto the seashore the child so born ... So now the seashore was the mother's body’ (1967a:112-113)

In exploring the idea of potential space in adults, Winnicott looks at the psychotic adult as well as the madness of the child (normally) as a phase of development. He eventually arrives at the cultural experience and defines culture as that of:

‘inherited tradition....something that is in the common pool of humanity, into which individual and groups of people may contribute, and from which we may all draw if we have somewhere to put what we find’ (1967a:116). [Thus] ‘... cultural experience is located in the *potential space* between the individual and the environment (originally the object).. Cultural experience begins with creative living first manifested in play... For every individual the use of this space is determined by *life experiences* that take place at early stages’ (1967a:118).

Thus, in designing the fieldwork for this thesis I used the idea of ‘play’, the creation of a ‘facilitating environment’ and thereby the creation of ‘potential space’, as a way of accessing both early and subsequent adult - in the moment - relationship between object (landscape) and individual (participant). Using psychotherapeutic skills, I aimed to facilitate and allow the unfolding (in a state of unintegrated self) of the experience of the potential space within which the relationship can be manifest of Self (and the constituent identity[ies] of self) and Other (landscape, and the elements of landscape). The more successful the empathetic relationship between primary carer in infancy (or in terms of adult life another significant person, therapist, group facilitator/researcher) the greater the extent of potential space and thus cultural experience and play and access to unintegrated self and a sense of self. Translating these concepts in the research forum, and in particular into the geographic research forum, suggests that to explore the self in space, and in relation to space, requires creating the conditions that maximise potential space. If the person is then exposed to the Other (landscape) they can explore their relationship in ‘unintegrated’ time using the mechanism of free association and play. In this way one is (according to Winnicottian concepts of maturation and integration and self) accessing the deepest sense of self identity (and by definition this will include gender identity) in relation to Other (landscape).

2.5.5: Concluding Self

In this discussion of object relations theory I have defined and outlined the major aspects of the theory as developed by D.W.Winnicott. I have examined the theories of the experience and existence of Self in relation to Other, and explored the concepts of ‘potential space’, the ‘facilitative environment’ and ‘transitional objects’.

When exploring gender identity and its influence on landscape perception one can access the self and the self-defined gender identity via the relationship and experience as manifested in the potential space. In the adult this will be present as a contiguity rather than a continuity. In other words by adulthood we can differentiate between Self and Other whilst we maintain our separateness. Winnicott has pointed out that in psychosis this separateness is disintegrated; a state that this thesis is not concerned with, except to know when psychosis might be present as a non-normal state. Neither is the fieldwork intending to become a therapeutic process; the purpose is research. A sound grasp of psychotherapeutics is required to know what is and what does not constitute a therapeutic process, and be alert to deflect that process should it appear (Burgess et al., 1988a, 1988b). I have examined some of the problems associated with Winnicott's ideas, most of which are resolved by acknowledging the social and historical context within which Winnicott formulated his theories. Finally I have placed this thesis in the context of object relations theory, showing the main areas of methodology which are designed specifically from the basics of object relations theory.

2.6: Conclusion

In this chapter I have reviewed the major areas of literature that correspond to the three major areas of this thesis; landscape perception, gender identity and concepts of self in terms of object relations theory. Whilst the review makes no claims to be exhaustive I have discussed all the literatures that have contributed theoretically to the design and basis for the thesis. As the thesis proceeds some of these literatures are re-visited and are used in varying detail in order to further explore a specific point. Having established my theoretical base I move on, in the following chapter, to examine the methodology and fieldwork design.

Chapter Three: Methodology: design and ethics

3.1: Introduction

In this chapter I first describe the theory and the principles of the methodology. Secondly, I detail how the fieldwork was designed and potential participants were approached and selected and the project set up. Thirdly, I describe the ways interviews were conducted, and the facilitation of workshops, giving the rationale for exercises used in sessions, and how sessions were timetabled. I discuss how feedback sessions and discussion groups were led and facilitated, and finally I demonstrate the particular importance of using psychotherapeutic skills and the need for ethical practice, which in this thesis has included a number of psychotherapy supervision sessions during and following the fieldwork. The strategies of analysis are discussed in the following chapter.

In order to adequately explore the complex relationship between people, their gender identity, and perception of local landscape, I hoped to be able to facilitate people to access unconscious associations, memories and impressions of their earliest experiences of learning to recognise what is Self and what is Not-Self. I aimed to chart how early identities and relationships had developed and how those first relationships affected subsequent relationships with 'Not-Self-outside-places', for example, landscape/place in the 'here and now' as adults.

I wished to work with people in such a way that avoided emphasis on the visual sense, and instead focused on the tactile. Visual perception is a crucially important function but for two reasons this thesis demanded a different sensory emphasis. First, as I note in Chapter Two, in western culture the visual tends to be predominant. By the time an individual reaches adulthood, unless they suffer some visual impairment, that individual is seen to adopt a predominantly visual mode of perception (Gross, 1996; Dodwell, 1995). Whilst for much of our everyday lives a predominantly visual awareness is more than adequate for enabling our means of work, the effect of the visual can tend towards a 'distancing' from physical contact with surroundings, and move an individual into a pre-dominantly 'cerebralised' awareness (Ingold, 2000). This effect can prevent access to early experience, as well

as encouraging habitual responses that are not necessarily wholly representative of an individual's total sensory experience, nor of unconscious associations and feelings which lie beyond our conscious awareness.

Secondly, in contrast to these problems concerning the visual sense, the tactile sense represents a quite different range of experience and access to early associations. As a vital receptor from earliest in-utero experience to the highly tactile experience of birth, onwards through childhood to maturity, the tactile sense is a powerful connection to bodily, sensory memories and to the 'lived moment'. Layers of impressions and perceptions are generated by tactile experience; sucking, touching, crawling over and across material objects, perceiving changes in temperature and texture. In western cultures, we tend to cerebralise or concretise our tactile perceptions into visual impressions from school age and earlier with drawing or painting lines and shapes in 2D. The effect of this phenomenon, I suggest, is to define, outline, clear-cut, or oversimplify the visual perception into a 'theoretical print' of our material reality. Free expression via touching and modelling, moulding and working with texture and temperature, shaping and forming using hands and feet may, I suggest, open another layer of largely unconscious elements of perception. Thus, I designed workshops in which participants would use hands and feet if they chose, to model landscapes in 3D using a range of natural and synthetic materials. I also decided to work via the tactile to focus on different senses on each of the three days, and thus each participant would have the opportunity to engage with, and bring to conscious awareness the whole range of sensory experience involved in landscape perception.

To be fully congruent with our potential space between Self and Other (Other may be a person, people, animal, landscape, or inanimate object) requires certain criteria which we tend to create for ourselves whenever appropriate or possible. If we suffer interference or 'impingements' in childhood, or as adults, the capacity to engage in the potential space is compromised or completely overwhelmed (Winnicott, 1971c). Conversely, given the right conditions we can access this in-between dynamic space in which we are free to be at play, and to be in touch with our creativity and imagination. In this research, I intended to encourage the creation of a Winnicottian 'facilitative environment' (Phillips, 1988), an environment which

was safe and empathetic and as such would encourage participants to work within the potential space with as little overwhelming impingement as possible.

3.2: Creating the space: setting up the fieldwork

I made use of the regionally advertised Open Studies programme in my home town of Lancaster to potentially access a wide range of participants. Open Studies is an open-access adult education programme developed by the Department of Continuing Education, at Lancaster University. Open Studies offers a wide range of courses in the arts, history, literature, geography, information technology, and sciences throughout the academic year, all of which have the option of being taken for 'credits' towards future study at degree level. Courses vary in length from intensives of up to 10 hours to short 5 week courses, and some longer courses of 10 or 20 weeks. There are also some flexible home study courses. Advertising for Open Studies is usually via libraries, adult education colleges and other educational venues, community centres and community projects, arts centres and any other public venue that tutors might suggest. The aim is to outreach as many people as possible, many of whom would otherwise not have an opportunity to study a range of subjects offered by mainly university tutors. Courses are chosen which have the potential to challenge students, encouraging them to pursue higher education at different levels for a number of reasons, for instance interest in unusual topics, access to degree-level courses with certification and credits, and to gain skills in technology, science or arts.

The main advantage of basing the fieldwork within this programme was most importantly the broad publicity offered over the entire region, hopefully appealing to people who might be interested in an unusual project concerning environmental issues. I was also aware that some people felt reassured by the fact that the project was part of a programme sanctioned and organised by the formal educational institution of Lancaster University. All tutors are accountable to the Department of Continuing Education, every course is approved and is expected to be taught to a basic standard.

My aim was to gather a group of between six and sixteen people, with an optimum of twelve. Given the research focus was around gender influence, I aimed for an equal mix of men and women. I decided to gather a mixed group, rather than run two single-sex groups for two reasons. Firstly, as a woman researcher I would not be able to facilitate men as a single-sex group (the group would be mixed by my presence, and the presence of any female helpers/technicians). Secondly, although several researchers suggest using a combination of mixed and single-sex groups, in order to encourage multiple-insights from different gender perspectives, as a lone researcher it proved impossible for me to run multiple groups within the time constraints of the fieldwork (Aries, 1976; Dyson et al., 1976; Ruhe, 1978; Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990). Furthermore, too large a quantity of data would have been gathered for the remit of the thesis.

A group can be defined as any number beyond two people (Hartley, 1997). However, David Morgan (1988) suggests that effective focus groups in qualitative research have eight to twelve participants. He notes that six to eight or ten people work well as a 'moderate sized' group because this smaller size group demands more from people. My own experience teaching adults and running workshop therapy groups confirms that large groups (over twelve to sixteen) can lose impetus in interaction. There were other considerations around group size in doing the type of in-depth research that was demanded by this project. An absolute minimum of six participants is necessary in order to amass sufficient data on which to base the analysis, whereas more than sixteen participants would create an unmanageable quantity of data, which might not necessarily produce additional quality (McCracken, 1988). In terms of participants' experience group size could also be crucial. Too small a group can fail to create a lively, interactive dynamic and may collapse altogether if the few participants do not like each other. Too large a group can be overwhelming, or feel oppressive to the more timid members, as well as being unwieldy and difficult to facilitate for the researcher.

Ironically, my initial attempt to gather participants via direct contact with community projects or existing community groups and so on, had resulted in no-one coming forward. Only three people signed up using the social networking or 'snowballing' method of recruitment (Hess, 1968). However, once the project was

advertised as part of the Open Studies course recruitment markedly increased. I used a mixture of Open Studies publicity, and also posters I created and distributed locally myself, plus I continued to use local social networking. A total of twelve adults were eventually gathered in a mixed-gender, mixed-aged group.

The disadvantage of using Open Studies as a recruitment method was that the courses may not appeal outside an existing 'education' orientated, often middle class section of society (although the aim is to encourage people outside this sector into higher education). The group in this project was indeed relatively 'skewed' in class composition. Eight of the twelve people were, or were retired, 'middle class' professionals; two others had originally come from working class backgrounds but now aspired to middle class values, and two were working class. All but two participants had a university education. One person was a PhD student, another an undergraduate. Two people worked or had worked in higher education and both of them had doctorate degrees (see Appendix 1 for profiles of participants and their pseudonyms).

There were also issues around using the 'snowballing' method of recruitment. Three participants were already friends, and I had social or professional connections with seven out of the twelve people. My original intention had been to try for a very broad range of class and experience and social status. However, recruitment for qualitative research is notoriously difficult. As other researchers such as Beverley Holbrook & Peter Jackson (1996), Burgess et al. (1988a, 1988b) and Jacquelin Burgess (1996) have noted, gathering sufficient numbers of participants together is practically impossible unless the researcher recruits from existing groups, or social or community networks. In the past there has been some contention about research in groups with people who know each other already. W.D. Wells (1974) and J.F. Templeton (1987) both warn that acquaintanceship may reduce the potential for ideas, and the quality of the discussions. In contrast, E.F. Fern's (1982) study found that acquaintanceship did not dramatically lessen the quality or number of ideas arising in the group, and research by Jenny Kitzinger (1994) and Richard Kreuger (1995) suggests that there are several advantages to members of a group already being acquainted. For example, existing friendships, with the asset of shared experience tend to encourage communication and group cohesion. I agree with the

latter two authors and would further argue that this cohesion will usually be consolidated by the fact that all participants, whether already friends or not, share a common interest in the project. With these arguments in mind the advantages of recruiting via Open Studies and social networking appeared to far outweigh the disadvantages. Although it resulted in a particular group composition, without these two means of recruitment there would have been no group with which to work. Moreover, group cohesion, crucial to the success of the project, was enhanced.

The practical element of the fieldwork integrated the remit of the broader PhD project with an Open Studies two-day intensive course that I designed entitled 'In Touch With Local Landscape'. The two-day course could be taken as a complete unit of study with or without credits, and people enrolling for the Open Studies intensive were not obliged to be involved with the PhD fieldwork. However, at enrolment each person was informed fully about the research and invited to take part. All the participants who enrolled via Open Studies elected to be involved. Likewise, all the people taking part via social networking enrolled onto the Open Studies course, which further enabled the course to run with sufficient numbers.

The particular demands of the research, as noted in the previous chapter, required a commitment from participants which was considerably more taxing than either having one or two individual interviews or attending a focus group session. People had to be prepared for two individual interviews of about an hour each, and to participate in workshop sessions over three full days, which included a total of nine feedback sessions and two discussion groups. In addition to the time commitment, the methodology was drawing on a psychotherapeutic approach that, by its nature, tends to encourage people to explore ideas, feelings, relationships and memories extensively, and at times to be prepared to enter unusually regressed and vulnerable spaces. Furthermore, all participants were asked to agree to being videoed and tape recorded during the workshop sessions. Not surprisingly, several people declined to take part once they knew the conditions and the potential intensity involved in this work. There was a marked gender-bias in this process.

A total of nine men made enquiries about the course. Only three men agreed to take part in the course and the research. Of those three, one man due to illness could only attend the first workshop, though he did agree to be interviewed twice.

Another man, due to a prior commitment, missed the final workshop. Only one of the men ended up attending all three workshops. One man who had been indecisive about whether to take part eventually approached me just before the final workshop, and he was refused admission to the group, because the deadline for recruitment, set after the first workshop, had passed. The recruitment deadline was set in order that the group as a whole had an opportunity to develop cohesion and trust (Burgess et al., 1988a). This decision allowed for the fact that any group may suffer unexpected absences due to illness or personal circumstances, as indeed occurred in this group. In comparison to the male attendance ten women enquired about the project, nine of whom took part. Two women missed the first workshop. One from illness and another because of late recruitment to the research project. Another two women missed the second workshop, both due to prior commitments. All the women were present on the final day. Many participants remarked on the fact of the group being dominated by women. Both men and women had comments and ideas on why this gender-bias had occurred. I look at this phenomenon in more detail in Chapter Six.

The fieldwork used a qualitative, multi-method approach, which allowed the particular mix of individual interviews, practical workshops, group discussions, and feedback sessions. All interviews, group discussions and feedback were approached with an emphasis on facilitating participants to explore in depth a number of key points. For example, although I arrived at each individual interview with a clear idea of the key questions that I wished to pose, the participant was encouraged to expand on and introduce themes that arose around these key areas. Likewise with group discussions I set out two or three points to be discussed with participants divided into two small groups, usually with no more than four or five people, after which the whole group met for feedback. There were two advantages in this method. The first is in relation to the use of a small group: people appeared to feel relaxed and comfortable in a smaller group, usually composed of people they had just been sharing a working space with for model-making. The second advantage concerned the ways key discussion points were used: these points were not designed to determine the nature of the discussion, but instead aimed to initiate exploration and ideas. Indeed this process was observed to inspire often unexpected, revelations and thoughts. Herbert Rubin & Irene Rubin (1995:42-43) have dubbed this technique, 'keeping on target, while hanging loose'. They note that effective qualitative

interviewing is inherently 'flexible', able to move with themes and ideas that may arise from interviewees, allowing the research design to unfold and adjust with each new interview or discussion.

Practical workshops were set up to provide not only a safe 'facilitative environment' for participants to work but also to permit ample observation on the part of the researcher. Thus the venue was considered carefully. The room needed to be comfortable, adaptable to allow small groups to work, with enough space for group members to do the modelling and allow ease of video recording, be suitable for the use of potentially messy art materials, and be relatively close to the landscape sites. Also with only minimal finances available the venue had to be either free or very cheap to hire. The first workshop was held in the Open Studies venue on the Lancaster University campus. Although the room was large and comfortable, and there was no hiring fee, lighting and acoustics were not optimal, and importantly the aura of the institution caused some discomfort to some members of the group; also the university was located a long way from the sites we intended to visit. Prior to the first workshop I had foreseen the venue might not prove appropriate and had made initial enquiries about alternative venues via the local Countryside Management Office, which had lists of venues suitable for meetings involving a mix of indoor and outdoor activities. Following the first workshop a village hall was found that could be hired for a low fee and was ideally placed near the sites we planned to visit. Thus the second and third workshops were re-located. All participants expressed relief and great satisfaction at our change of venue, which although a little less comfortable, proved quieter and more secluded, was easily adapted to the use of modelling materials, good for the videoing, and seemed to allow better opportunity for group cohesion to develop.

Data collection was conducted via audio-cassette recording throughout all the interviews, workshop exercises, feedback and group discussions. Video recording was used in addition to audio tapes during all the workshops. A photographic record was made of all the completed models, including sandplay. Because of the complexity of the workshop organisation I enlisted the help of five independent helpers from my friends and family who were involved at different times throughout each of the three workshop days. Their task involved shifting substantial quantities

of modelling materials at the beginning and end of each workshop day and using sometimes two to three separate video cameras for video recording. Lack of resources prohibited hiring professional video technicians (several had been approached including the university technicians: all quoted a cost of hundreds of pounds). Thus, the videoing was amateur. But considering these circumstances the outcome was, with one or two exceptions, perfectly adequate, and at times, excellent. At any one time at least two or three helpers were present at each session. Although ideally I would have liked to have the same helpers at all sessions, it was impossible due to their other commitments. However, in spite of this inconsistency the participants appeared to find the arrangement satisfactory. They were always kept informed as to who would be present each day, and in what role they would be engaged, for instance whether for videoing, photography, general management of materials, transport, tidying up and so on. At the end of each workshop day all the helpers involved and myself met for a debriefing session which was recorded on audio-cassette. At the completion of the fieldwork all the audio-cassette recordings, and where possible, the sound track of the video recordings, were fully transcribed to allow for codification and analysis. All photographs were labelled and filed.

By the start of the fieldwork I had discussed involvement in the project as part of my research with everyone taking part. I had asked for and been given verbal consent for material collected in the course of interviews and workshops to be used as part of my thesis, which may include publication. I gave assurance that only pseudonyms would be used in both writing up and in any future publication arising from the research.

3.3: Interviews and workshops: the practice

In this section I describe the practical application of the theory in interviews and workshops. I illustrate the ways different methods were used in interviews and workshop sessions, and discuss details of plans and timetabling of each workshop day, including how the sessions and the different exercises within sessions were conducted.

3.3.1: The first interview

Prior to the start of the workshops every participant was interviewed. This first interview was arranged once the participant had enrolled on the project. I offered to conduct the interviews in a place convenient to the participant, in most cases their own home. As educational researcher Susan Smith (1996) notes, preparedness to arrange the interviews on the participants' terms is often an important start to building rapport. Every interviewee was asked again at the time of this interview if they were still prepared to verbally consent to the interview being tape-recorded.¹ In these first individual interviews the aim of the session was threefold: relational, practical and to begin the data collection; each of these elements was of equal importance to the others.

At the relational level the first interview enabled me to initiate contact, and begin to develop rapport and trust with the individual participants. Herbert and Irene Rubin talk about the importance of building up a conversational relationship with each participant. This process involves various stages of getting to know each other and developing a shared language, within the context of the interview, which they describe very aptly, as a 'guided conversation' (Rubin & Rubin, 1995:101). Susan Smith (1996), Karen Ramsay (1996) and Sandra Harding (1987) have called this type of non-hierarchical interviewing, a 'feminist' approach, where the interviewer is both responsive and respectful to the interviewee. Marjorie Devault (1990: 101) argues that this style of interviewing brings 'feminist skills' of listening 'around and beyond words'. A style she contends is found predominantly in women's interactions. Liz Stanley & Sue Wise (1983: 170) go so far as to suggest that not only is this kind of approach preferable but that any approach by an interviewer which treats people like objects is 'morally indefensible'.² Thus, although the researcher is the instigator of the project and decides the framework and content of key questions, the emphasis is on equality within the relationship and the sensitive building up of rapport between participant and researcher. This type of interviewing,

¹ In the event, no one at any time in the fieldwork asked not to be recorded, and no one ever asked for material to be taken 'off-the-record'. Although, should either of these requests have been made I would have concurred i.e. by not including certain material, or relying on notes instead of audio recordings.

²Deborah Lee (1997) makes the point that there are very different dynamics at work in woman-to-woman interviews than man-to-woman interviews. I was aware of the different dynamic e.g. the men sought more reassurance and were a little more wary of the project. How much this was in response to me being a woman researcher is uncertain. However, both men and women responded to the general

which values the elements of rapport, trust and empathy is highly effective in creating a 'facilitative environment', as described by Winnicott (1960b, 1967a, 1967b, 1968). I would argue that without such an 'environment' the work of the project could not take place effectively. Therefore, the first interview was crucial to the success of the fieldwork, because it set the tone of the project within the context of an empathic relationship between each participant and myself.

Practically, I used the first interview to outline what could be termed the 'housekeeping' of the project. John Rowan (1983: 35) in his discussion of the initial interview in humanistic psychotherapy places great store in the need to formally 'set[s] the scene' by stating what he calls the 'structural matter' of the therapeutic relationship. He sees this process as a 'contract' which once agreed upon ensures that both therapist and client are clear about the aims of the work, and are bound to follow basic rules of conduct in a mutually negotiated space. In the context of this research, setting the scene meant ensuring all parties were clear about the 'ground rules'. For instance, that participants were formally enrolled on the course, turned up to the sessions, were prepared to take part in the exercises and discussions, and consented to taking part in the research. Likewise, as researcher, I agreed to keep participants fully informed about practical arrangements, course content and session plans. I also reiterated that all the input by participants would be confidential - with the exception of the possible future use of photographic and video material. I also assured participants of a safe, comfortable, accessible venue that complied with basic health and safety regulations, and that each outdoor site visited had reasonable access for less able-bodied participants. Perhaps, more importantly, from the point of view of the people taking part, I had undertaken to design an interesting and challenging course, which had benefits for each participant. Everyone had been given an information sheet at enrolment and at the end of this first interview I answered any questions about the workshop plan, reiterated the dates and times of workshop sessions, and the location and facilities available at the venue. We discussed expectations of the workshops, and I answered any general questions about the project, although I did not encourage any extensive discussion about the theoretical side to the research at this stage, as I was anxious not to feed into

approach used which emphasised rapport and empathy. I return to this point in Chapter Six.

preconceptions. In fact, most participants were more concerned that the workshops were adequately planned and organised than wanting to discuss theory. I also encouraged each person to suggest a local place to visit on the first day, thus prompting the choice of a seaside visit. All of these practical or 'structural' arrangements acted as material building blocks in developing the more ethereal intangibles of a relationship between participant and researcher based on trust and empathy within a 'facilitative environment'.

The third aim of the first interview was to begin the data collection. In terms of the research this was obviously a vital outcome. However, as I have outlined above, the data collection could not proceed unless the relationship between the researcher and participants was sensitively facilitated. The practicalities and ground rules of that relationship needed to be set up meticulously, a point emphasised by a number of qualitative researchers (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Mason, 1996; Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Having done the groundwork the data collection could proceed relatively unhindered. I set out to invite participants to explore the key themes around the research question of gender influence and the perception of landscape. The themes were: memory of landscape, personal history in relation to landscape, gender identity in relation to landscape, and meanings of landscape in general and of 'local' landscape. As I note in Chapter One these themes were developed from previous research in landscape perception. Exploration of the themes continued throughout the workshops, group discussions and in the final interview. At the stage of the first interview the task was to introduce the themes and open the discussion.

The participant was first invited to talk about his or her memories and experience of landscape from childhood to the present time. These explorations into memories and personal histories in relation to landscape included some initial discussion of the effect of gender identity on their experiences. The influence of gender was explored in more detail in the final interview. Participants also explored what meanings came to mind when they thought about the word 'landscape'. Everyone was asked to record any dreams they may have, during and following the workshops, which might seem to relate to the project. Dreams, in psychotherapeutics, are considered to reveal insights and meanings normally

inaccessible in waking consciousness (Whitmont & Perera, 1989).³ That a person may dream more readily about their feelings about events than experience the feelings and ideas in waking life, as a result of psychic repression, is reiterated by Winnicott (1971c).

3.3.2: The workshops

I devised three workshop days which ran over the month of April 1998; Saturday 4th, Saturday 18th and Saturday 25th April⁴. The purpose of these practical workshops was to create a safe and secure space, with adequate time, within which participants could explore their experience of landscape perception working predominantly through the tactile sense, using the medium of 3D modelling. As discussed above, in section 3.2, by focusing on the tactile sense I aimed to potentially access a primary/early level of experience as well as present experience, and allow an exploration of the connections and relation between past and present. Other senses - smell, sound and vision - were also worked with, through the tactile sense, as a means of exploring a range of expression of participants' sensory experience, which is considered integral to landscape perception. For example, Day One was purely emphasising the tactile, partly in order to enable participants to fully connect with touch. On Day 2 I suggested participants worked with sound and smell, but they continued to use the tactile as the pre-dominant route of expression. On Day 3 the focus was on the visual, but again emphasising tactile as a means of expressing the visual perception. There was a problem on Day 2 in asking participants to be aware of two senses (three including the tactile), and ideally I would not have designed the session in this way. However, I was keen to include all five senses, but time constraints precluded allowing another whole day. Rightly or wrongly I decided to combine smell with another sense, thinking that smell was regarded as sub-dominant and rarely referred to in the literature. As I discuss in Chapter Seven, my bias was shared to some extent by participants, and proved not entirely misplaced,

³ Edward Christopher Whitman & Sylvia Brinton Perera (1989) discuss dreams from the Jungian perspective, but see also Juliet Mitchell (1974: 14) who cites Freud's belief that, "dreams, were the 'royal' road to the unconscious".

⁴Easter weekend fell on Fri 10th- Sun 12th so there was a a two week gap between Day 1 and 2 but only a one week break between Day 2 and 3. In the event the difference in intervals between workshops seemed unproblematic. On reflection the longer interval between the first two workshops seemed to allow time for people to assimilate the experience and then engage readily on Day 2 and be keen to get on to Day 3 with only a one week interval.

although equally the issues around the sense of smell proved complex, and participants did complain that combining awareness was difficult.

Each day was carefully orchestrated to first create a secure 'facilitative environment' within the group. Secondly, to introduce and then facilitate participants to connect and work primarily with the tactile sense, and from Day 2, along with a different sense, or senses, each day. Thirdly, to give participants an opportunity to try 3D modelling with range of natural and artists' materials as potential media for the interpretation and expression of their experience of landscape. Fourthly, that in this 'primed' state the group could visit a local area and then return to the venue to sculpt their experience in 3D models. Finally, the day was planned to ensure that everyone in the group had a chance to feedback and reflect on each exercise.

In order to create a secure 'environment' I set up a clear structure for each day, which allowed everyone adequate breaks between sessions. Each day started at 9.30 a.m., included a lunch break, and finished at 4.00 p.m. The day was divided into either two or three separate sessions, each of which was videoed by the project helpers. Limits and boundaries are crucial in a facilitative environment, and timing and punctuality were important ways, at a purely structural level, that I ensured structural boundaries were kept intact. Punctual timekeeping is regarded as essential in a number of psychotherapeutic disciplines (for instance, as found in the classic 'fifty minute hour' traditionally used in Freudian psychoanalysis). Other psychotherapeutic systems do not necessarily keep to fifty minutes but will almost always negotiate a fixed period of time for a session. John Rowan (1983) describes this negotiation as an essential part of the structural framework of a session. Time is a fundamental boundary, and any breaking of that boundary by either client or therapist is always open to exploration and interpretation. The negotiating and integrity of time boundaries are analogous, I would suggest, to the earliest negotiations between infant and carer. In the context of the research, punctual timekeeping of all the workshop sessions, made clear to all the participants, represents a 'good-enough parent' (Winnicott, 1971a) and forms the baseline for the creation of the secure environment. Therefore, a detailed day plan was timetabled which included timing of sessions. (See Appendix 2: Timetable of Workshop Days).

Timings were kept to as far as possible for all the reasons I outline above, as well as to ensure workshops ran smoothly and the tasks of each session could be completed.

The first day began with a ‘gathering together’ introductory session where group members, myself along with the two helpers for that day could introduce ourselves. This introductory session was an opportunity to talk about the project, the plans for that day, answer queries and so on. On Day 2 and Day 3 this first session of the day was designated as group discussion. Participants separated into two small groups to reflect and feedback feelings, thoughts and ideas about the previous workshop day. The whole group then re-convened to share thoughts and ideas that had surfaced in the small groups, and also to exchange individual reflections on the experience of the project.

Following this introductory period the group moved immediately into a sandplay session, which served as a ‘warm-up’ exercise, and an important means whereby each person focused on and connected with the tactile sense. ‘Playing’ with sand, by picking up the sand, holding, smoothing and moulding, and also using ‘tools’ to model the sand is observed to be a powerful, immediate and surprisingly compelling means of getting back in touch with touch. Sandplay has the effect of facilitating people to attend to feelings and images that generally remain hidden at the edges of their everyday awareness. Sandplay, as a psychotherapeutic tool, has been developed particularly by Jungian theorists in art and play therapy. Winnicott also used some elements of play therapy in his work to facilitate regression, or enable a child, or adult to express and illustrate feelings and concerns that may be difficult to articulate. Sandplay appears to effect access to early regressed spaces, early stages of identity formation, the early spaces of relation to Self and Other (see Kalff, 1980; Lowenfeld, 1979 - pioneers of sandplay techniques - and Weinrib, 1983 - who observed that sandplay in psychotherapeutics deliberately maximised this phenomenon). On Day 1 and Day 2, during the sandplay session, I asked participants to intensify their connection with the sense of touch by trying to keep their eyes closed as much as possible whilst handling the sand, which was supplied both dry and wet. On Day 3 participants could include water as well as sand. Adding another element made the ‘eyes closed’ instruction harder, although some people did keep to

the eyes closed suggestion more than others, and they tended to stay more closely in tactile mode.

The sandplay session on Day 1 and Day 2 was followed by a session of modelling with a range of natural and synthetic materials. These materials were provided with the aim of offering maximum opportunity for each individual to find a material or materials with which they felt affinity, and could explore in terms of the tactile, as well as other senses that may be explored on the different days. At this stage in the project I was keen to ensure people could find adequate means of expression for their experience of visiting the landscape site when doing the landscape modelling sessions. Thus a large variety of materials was provided, including wood, such as willow withies, bark, hazel sticks, matchsticks; red and grey clay, sand, polyfilla, glues, plastics, cling film, aluminium foil, metal cans, wire; textiles including offcuts, felt, wool, shoddy, and sheep fleece; beads, buttons, shredded paper, sponge, ribbon, feathers. To this collection I added fruit and vegetables on Day 2 to assist with the smell and sound sessions. On Day 3 I added coloured water and acrylics to assist with the visual through the tactile exercise of that day. In addition to the materials I provided on Day 1 and Day 2 participants had the option of also gathering materials to use in their models from the landscape sites. On Day 3, because we visited a nature reserve, gathering materials on site was not possible.

Following the sandplay and/or materials session the group then visited the chosen landscape site, staying in sensory awareness mode. The criteria for the choice of site were fairly simple. As I state in Chapter One and Two, following precedents set by other writers in landscape perception, I have defined 'landscape' in relation to the site visits as referring to non-urban landscape. As I noted above, at the first interview each participant was asked to suggest a local site they would like to visit. Some people were happy to go wherever I suggested, but four or five people did suggest an estuarine, seaside site local to Lancaster, which was thus chosen for the first visit. Thereafter, the group actively left the decision to me. I wanted to offer contrasting and different landscapes, partly to allow for a range of experiences to be accessed and expressed, and also to keep an edge of interest and excitement in the project. Thus, after the Day 1 seaside visit, on Day 2 we went to an area of woodland

local to the village hall where the workshops were held. On Day 3 we visited a local national nature reserve with a number of features including limestone pavement, a natural lake, coppiced woodlands, fields, a natural spring and a stream.

After each landscape visit the group returned to the venue for the final session of the day, modelling their interpretation of their experience of landscape as perceived via the tactile and other specific sense(s). During these modelling sessions participants were free to choose to work with any one or as many different types of natural, artists' and synthetic materials as they wished. The only briefing given at the start of the landscape modelling sessions was to, as far as possible, stay aware of the senses of the day. At the end of each session there was time allocated for feedback. Feedback after each modelling session, whether, sandplay, materials or landscape was conducted first in pairs, with each person sharing their thoughts, feelings and ideas about their model as an expression of the experience and perception. The group then re-convened to share their exchanges and ideas. On Day 3 this feedback session was extended to allow for an 'ending' session which included an opportunity for some brief evaluation of the project.

3.3.3: The final interview

Following the end of the three workshops every participant was interviewed individually. The aim of this final individual interview was threefold: completing data collection, relational and reflective. At the reflective level I hoped to gather feedback and reflections (including any dream feedback) about the project and the individuals' feelings and thoughts about their experiences during the workshops. I was interested whether the individuals felt this project might have, or not, influence(d) their subsequent experience of landscape. This element was important in terms of the potential of this methodology in possible future environment/landscape-orientated projects. Reflection was integral, however, to the relational element of the interviews. Ethically, I needed to provide a point of closure for each participant by offering the opportunity for a reflective and sensitive completion to the relationship between the participant and myself. The data collection at this last interview included a chance to re-examine meanings of landscape, as evolved through the project, and also to explore memories of early

childhood family relationships, and also experiences of gender identity through childhood and into adulthood. Each person was asked whether they felt their gender identity had in the past, or did currently, affect their perception of landscape.

3.4: Research ethics in practice

In this research fieldwork I set out with the aim of facilitating access to early and/or unconscious material. There are particular ethical issues associated with this kind of 'in-depth' psychotherapeutic methodology, which as observed by Burgess et al (1988a) require the researcher to follow specific ethical guidelines. Firstly, to use psychotherapeutic skills requires a basic working knowledge and experience of psychotherapy; although I hasten to point out that not every 'in-depth' qualitative project demands those skills. (However, I personally feel every researcher would benefit from some training in the practice and theory in the skills discussed here, even if at a most rudimentary level.) Secondly, there are advantages - and potential hindrances - in setting up the interviews and any group work with a working knowledge of some basic psychotherapeutic theory, and it is wise to be aware of problems inherent in applying psychotherapy counselling skills in research interviews. Lastly, following on from these concerns I felt that in undertaking this type of project both the research outcome and myself as researcher would benefit from specialist psychotherapeutic supervision. This section addresses these issues, starting with the reasons for using this kind of methodology, which I illustrate using the skills, and finally discuss using psychotherapeutic supervision in the course of the fieldwork.

As I describe in Chapter One, I arrived with more than two decades of experience of psychotherapy, some as a client and some as a practising psychotherapist. Not surprisingly I hoped that the kind of humanistic psychotherapy skills for which I had been trained - working with both individuals and groups - would transfer across the divide between the practice of therapy and the academic pursuit of research. Furthermore, in order that I followed the kind of ethical protocol in which I had been trained I would require, at particular points in the research, specialist psychotherapeutic supervision as well as academic supervision. My proposed methodology, although strongly supported by supervisors and peers, was

greeted with some scepticism in certain quarters, for example, during formal departmental review sessions. Also the request for specialist psychotherapy supervision as part of a qualitative research project was considered highly unusual. Happily the request was granted and additional funding provided, although the reactions my methodology provoked confirmed that there was some way to go before psychotherapeutic methodologies and geography would be either reconciled, or become widely practised within qualitative research in geography (Bondi, 1999).

3.4.1: Why use psychotherapeutic skills in qualitative research?

Although qualitative research methodology does address basic ethical issues of confidentiality, informed consent, issues around publishing of research material, and prevention of exploitation or damage to the researched or the researcher, there is very little debate on the subject of development of interactive skills. Exceptions to this scarcity of interest are found in discussions by feminist researchers such as Virginia Olesen (1994), Janet Finch (1984) and Jackie Stacey, (1988), all of whom voice concerns about the complex power relations between researcher and participant, which they feel can potentially be exploitative, manipulative, and disempowering. Largely these concerns arise because of the nature of the qualitative enquiry, in particular the use of 'in-depth' interviewing techniques.

In agreeing to take part in a research project a person opens themselves up to the researcher's questions and queries, usually in the course of an interview. The researcher is said to be engaging someone in 'guided conversation' (Rubin & Rubin, 1995:122). This 'guided' or 'focused' conversation is a form of communication that, although part of the same continuum as social interaction, is distinctly, yet at times subtly, different. The difference lies in both the purpose of the interaction - in the case of research the conversation is an interview not a social chat - and the 'depth' or extent of the interaction. 'Depth' in a research interview will depend on both the nature of the topic and the means by which that topic is to be explored with the participant (Rubin & Rubin, 1995:125). The qualitative interview or 'guided conversation' is frequently described as 'in-depth', as opposed to a questionnaire or focus group style of exploration. Researchers are actively encouraging people to explore beyond the level of social interactions, and to share thoughts, ideas,

reflections about a topic, which as a process is commonly perceived as going 'down' into the 'depths'. Some topics will demand the participant delve deeper than others. The 'in-depth' of research for this thesis deliberately delved into deeply personal reflections on childhood, early relationships and identity. During the in-depth interviewing, people were asked to reflect upon an issue as part of the 'focused' or 'guided' research conversation, and in most cases rapidly moved from socialised convention into all manner of highly individualised interactions entwined with various socio-cultural mores. Thus, from the first interaction there was an immediate involvement in an interactional dynamic between researcher and the participant. No interaction is completely neutral, however superficial or apparently inconsequential, and the power relations, and the vulnerability, of both researcher and participant within the in-depth interaction was thus a valid concern.

Human interaction is a multi-faceted, many-layered affair, and researchers are no more immune to fears and anxieties than anyone else when thrust into new situations with strangers. Can we maintain our inner sense of authority with this person or group? Will they co-operate with us? Will we like them? Will they like us? Will either of us get bored? Will the participant criticise us or ask awkward questions about the research? How will we react if they get upset or angry or challenge us? Isca Salzberger-Wittenberg (1983) has suggested, in her study of the emotional expectations in learning and teaching, that adult students - and their tutors - react with similar emotions when faced with a new class to those they experienced as children starting school. And in research, as in teaching, the dynamics - the power relations - are very similar. For instance, participants look to the researcher for cues, for the structure of the interview or workshop, for authority within the context of the research enquiry. As a researcher I aimed to maintain professionalism, but I knew from experience as a psychotherapist some conversations with some people were likely to push that professionalism to the limit. The further into the interaction, the greater the demands on researcher and participant, and the more likely the researcher and participant can find themselves caught up in complex dynamics. Some interactions pose no threat, some challenge, some excite or delight, some require vigilance, or at the very least a 'protective suit'. As a researcher I hold the responsibility for protecting my participants and protecting myself. This

responsibility is the baseline of research ethics, and I considered this a compelling reason to draw on psychotherapeutic skills to support my research methodology.

3.4.2: Into new territories

The qualitative interview, as focused conversation, calls on our innate abilities to encourage people to talk together and be at ease and relaxed. Any conversation with someone, in fact, requires an extraordinary range of communication and social abilities. As I suggest above, there are a number of dynamics at work which inevitably require a research interview to go beyond the territory of the fully conscious social interaction. When interviewing with a purpose, the focused conversation can quickly lead into new territories, especially if I was specifically setting out to facilitate participants into a deeper exploration of themselves. For example, Jacquelin Burgess et al. (1988a, 1988b) designed their research, using the psychoanalytic small group model, precisely because they wished to explore:

“environmental values which are deeply held and which clearly reflect a complex interpenetration of individual experiences and collective beliefs about nature, landscape, and society”. (1988a : 311)

To meet as a once-only group would, they felt, only permit people to produce “superficial impressions and attitudes” (1988a :311). Yet, they were also sensitive to the ethical issues of asking people to be involved in research that used psychoanalytic techniques, and ensured that, as researchers, they were sufficiently familiar with psychoanalytic group skills before embarking on the research. Jacquelin Burgess, for instance, already had several years experience in psychoanalytic group work (Burgess et al, 1990). A distinction must be made between a focus group researcher who is doing market research, about say, a particular commodity, which may not tax the unknowns of a participant at all, as compared to research into people’s deeper feelings: for instance, research into early childhood experience. Both Burgess et al. (1988b) and Mickey Smith (1995) point out that even apparently undemanding topics can end up becoming a forum for a participant to talk about themselves, their lives and problems. This occurs as a result of the ‘synergistic effect’ of a group, or from feeling safe in an individual interview.

As a qualitative researcher, faced with individual interviews and group sessions, I felt compelled to use specific interactive skills of which I had both training and experience (Mason, 1996; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994).

3.4.3: Going in there: practical applications

I am not suggesting every qualitative researcher or every qualitative research project either needs or will find it appropriate to use psychotherapeutic skills. However, a considerable amount of socio-cultural and feminist research does involve working with vulnerable groups of people. Hester Parr's (1998) study of people's experience of mental health services, Tamar Rothenburg's (1995) work on social politics within New York City's lesbian community, Jacquelin Burgess et al. (1988a, 1998b) in their study of environmental values using a psychoanalytic approach working with people in small groups, and Robert Burgess's (1984) long-term study of teacher-pupil relationships in an inner city school, are just some of numerous examples. All these studies involve asking people to open up and tell the researcher about their feelings, ideas, opinions either in unusual detail, and/or on a subject that may be highly evocative, emotional, even dangerous.

In asking people to discuss, not only their earliest memories of landscape, but also their earliest recollections and experience of their parents and family, I was, like the other researchers mentioned above, going beyond the 'known', working in the unknowns of unconscious material. The participants reacted in all kinds of ways to my questions, and to the practical work. I was often pushed to the limits of my skills, and I made some salutary mistakes, which without skilled support could potentially have jeopardised the positive outcome of the data collection. This kind of in-depth work demands a clear awareness and application of psychotherapeutic skills for two major reasons. Firstly, without sufficient experience of these skills designing this kind of research would have been unthinkable, thus psychotherapeutics positively opened up research opportunities. Secondly, having set up a project that encouraged people to enter vulnerable and sensitive territories, psychotherapeutic skills were essential in order that the research was conducted in every sense ethically, and with a high degree of integrity, empathy and mutual trust. Lastly, as the researcher, I had to

‘hold’ an overview of the process, whilst carrying the moment by moment needs of the group and each individual, responsive to changing flows and directions.

The research was seen as a two-way process. Choosing Winnicottian theory and its humanist stance meant calling on a facilitative approach similar to that advocated in some feminist research (Mason, 1996). In this model, ideally, the participant and the researcher are engaged in an interplay, power relations are appropriate to each party, neither is given authority beyond the other. Both researcher and participant within their respective autonomy acknowledge the roles of each other, each can learn from the other (Maynard, 1994). Thus, in this project whilst I set up the structure and initial ideas, thereafter the participants could create their own paths, directions and ways of working within that basic context. A creative, dynamic ‘facilitative environment’ was created where the research could take place. Once in the space of the interview or the groupwork I needed to facilitate an initial stage of building trust and empathy. Time constraints of the interview demanded this initial stage occurred in no more than an hour or so. Building trust, in this kind of interaction, depended on developing empathy with the participant, and the whole process required facilitation with appropriate interventions. Similar to the aim in therapy, I set out to enable the participant to explore certain issues and share material while gaining self-knowledge in a safe space. Similar to a therapist, as a researcher I had responsibility to the participant to maintain the facilitative environment with integrity and self-awareness. I had to be alert to my own material in relation to each participant. I had to be aware of the interaction of power relations in individual interviews or in the group work to be alert and aware of group dynamics.

3.4.4: Facilitation, interventions, trust, and ‘holding’

In this section I briefly describe key psychotherapeutic skills that I used most extensively in this fieldwork, and which I found an essential part of the research process. The first is facilitation, the second interventions, the third trust and empathy and the fourth the phenomenon of ‘holding’.

Facilitation is an example of a range of interactive skills which form the basis of human communication and interaction, and which has been theorised and developed in psychotherapeutics in a number of interesting ways. Although the facilitative process or what could be described as 'empathic interaction' is not always named and defined as facilitation, there are clear indications when this process is occurring during psychotherapeutic or research sessions. Whilst used unself-consciously in many non-therapeutic situations including research interviewing, facilitative skills can also be consciously developed when participants are asked to work with potentially vulnerable personal material or experience.

In this world of the unconscious, in often as yet unexplored territory, an individual carries many half-known or unknown things, ringed around in fantasies, mythologised memories, projections, and prejudices. Our sense of self, our personality or as Christopher Bollas (1989) describes it, our 'idiom', is expressed through a welter of conscious and unconscious actions, body language, sensory engagements, thoughts and emotions. All of this is territory that qualitative researchers may hope to explore in a search for a person's opinions, ideas and experience. Skilful facilitation permits the researcher to conduct the exploration with as little disturbance as possible, and hopefully with maximum insight, leaving both researcher and participant with more not less at the end of the fieldwork. Facilitation proved to be possibly the most important communication skill in this research. In terms of a practical workshop, facilitation involved my setting up an exercise, asking participants to do the exercise and then 'allowing' or 'following' alongside the group as they collectively engaged with the task. In both interview and workshop situations - in my role as facilitator - I guided the participant around the 'structure' of the interview or workshop, whilst simultaneously I allowed and encouraged the participant to follow their unique path and expression.

Winnicott (1963c) describes successful facilitative communication as respecting the person's profoundest sense of self, and allowing the following three strands of communication as they arise: silence, explicit communication and the intermediate area of cultural exchange. As a facilitator in this research context I was attempting to remain alert to the overview and the detail of each moment. I had to be

able to shift or hold firm according to the needs of the participant as s/he either expressed their ideas and feelings or chose to stay silent, all within the context of the research question. Such attention required me to develop a finely tuned understanding of the process, together with a most focused awareness of both participant (and/or group of participants) and also of myself as researcher. At a most basic level facilitation simply required me to 'follow' the conversation, picking up threads from the participant's previous answer to encourage the flow, as illustrated in this excerpt from Dot's first interview below:

Researcher (A): ..So, when you played in the garden and so on, you played a lot of imaginative games, that was mostly what was happening?

Participant (Dot): .Hmm, we played house, we used to dress up a lot, I can remember leaning out of my bedroom window, and throwing everything out, the blankets, the pillows, all sorts of things that we could sort of drape and make caves, and tents and things and.....

A: So, you'd take things out from the house and play with them....?

Dot:. Hmm, hmm, just in the garden, or down into the, what did we used to call our house, 'cos 'wendy' house is a fairly modern thing I know, 'cos people called them 'wendy' houses long before, but I forget what we used to call it, we had just ... our house perhaps.

A: So, really that, that was quite, when you said local, it was quite a local area for you actually as a child..

Dot: ..Hmm.

A:it was quite a confined area in fact? (Dot: 26398A:080)

So far the facilitation was working well. The 'give and follow-on' was flowing. I indicated my interest and attention by my interventions, which act to encourage Dot along her line of thought and perhaps elaborate or explore more deeply. If, however, I suddenly 'butt' in, diverting Dot into a new line, confusion might result, the thread can break. In the next bit of the conversation such a break threatened:

Dot: Yes, yes. Except that, for a little person, the gardens were very long, you know those sort of strips that you get near London, and when you have four strips in a row it gets to be quite large, and also, I was encouraged to look up, as it were, because when we'd not been there

very long, they'd put electricity pylons through, we hated it, it, luckily wasn't in our garden.....

A: ...So it was a bit like a Giles cartoon or something?

Dot:...it, dominated, you see, in all the photographs of the back garden, and of course nowadays they've decided it's not a very good thing to be living under isn't it? (Dot : 26398A:100)

My comment about the Giles cartoon represented a threatened break or diversion. Comments like this may arise from a temporary lapse in concentration, or a personal association on the part of the researcher. In this case, I was suddenly reminded of a powerful cartoon image from the 1960s, the era of my own childhood. In a split second alongside the memory there was some sense of wanting to share the image with Dot, as if to emphasise that shared space, myself as ally. Such associations or memories are common in social interaction where we are used to easily moving back and forth in our concentration, but in the interview situation we undertake to keep alert and facilitate the respondent. This is 'focused conversation' not social conversation. So, although sometimes an associative comment can turn out to be facilitative, it may be better reserved till the end of the interview. Thus, I needed to be aware of the appropriateness of making associative comments, and whether interjecting my own ideas or thoughts at any given point would facilitate or disrupt. In this instant Dot was sufficiently involved in her own memories and ignored the remark, and continued her line of thought, avoiding what was potentially a disruption caused by my remark.

The art of successful facilitation, then, is similar to spinning wool where individual strands of various lengths are taken up and spun around each other in sequence to make up a single continuous thread. If the spinner is working well the strands spin smoothly together, the breaks between strands are imperceptible. If the spinner loses concentration the thread can be erratic and uneven, perhaps break altogether.

Transcripts can only give some of the story of the facilitation process. Pauses, body language, the quality of laughter or lack of laughter, encouraging hums and grunts, eye contact are all hidden in text. These actions are a vital though

sometimes intangible part of facilitation. For example, as the workshops progressed I realised that my verbal facilitation decreased dramatically. Physical presence, occasional very brief reminders to stay with the remit of the exercise, brief timekeeping, encouragement to feedback were enough to enable the group to flow and interact. Similarly, in the interviews facilitation often occurred simply by a nod of the head, a hand gesture, silence and so on. Amanda Coffey & Paul Atkinson (1996) outline the strategies that can enhance facilitation in qualitative research, and in particular note the difficulty of analysing the 'oral performance' that occurs between researcher and participant. They point out that, 'qualitative analysis is as much about "how things are said" as about what is said.' (1996:77). Whilst, I am not concerned with analysis in this discussion, I mention Coffey and Atkinson's acknowledgement of the non-verbal 'performance' that takes place in the course of research interviewing in order to emphasise the point, made earlier with reference to Winnicott. Namely, that facilitation is sometimes more about the unspoken than the spoken interactions, and that this phenomenon is known but may be described in various different ways in qualitative methodology.

Successful facilitation assumes that the researcher makes appropriate interventions (Burgess et al. 1988b). Intervention in this sense means a comment made by the researcher that highlights, summarises and/or supports the participant's experience and feelings about an event, or an idea and so on. In psychotherapeutic work intervention is an important skill, which a good therapist uses with great care in order to facilitate or encourage the client towards insights and self-awareness. Winnicott, for example, is keen to emphasise the enormous benefits of an appropriate intervention and the subsequent, hopefully liberating, insight afforded the client. Equally, he warns us that inappropriate, excessive intervention can block or even damage the client. In much the same way a researcher can make an intervention that happily and beneficially facilitates the participant. We can also find ourselves interrupting, making inappropriate, irrelevant comments that serve to stifle the conversation, or in a workshop situation we may ask the group to do an exercise that 'blocks' the individual instead of facilitating them.

An example of inappropriate intervention arose during the final session of the first day of the workshop series. I made an intervention at the end of the session

asking the group members to gather round the model with which they had the most affinity, but I did not offer them a chance to feed back to each other about their own model. All but one of the group members did as they were asked. The energy in the room dropped dramatically, conversation stopped; people seemed disgruntled. However, all bar one participant returned for the remaining workshops⁵. In the final interview, some people in talking about this incident described being thrown into a dilemma. They might hurt each other's feelings by not choosing some other person's model as their favourite, but they had built enough trust to follow my directions, and might risk our relationship by refusing to do the exercise. They resisted my untimely and inappropriate intervention by doing the exercise but withdrawing energy and going silent.

If facilitators are lucky the participant ignores the inappropriate intervention and pursues their own line of thought. If unlucky the participant may lose trust, empathy dissolves, and the communication is brought to a standstill or breaks completely. In the above instance no one reacted obviously by breaking off, although the participant who left the project did report he had been left feeling very uncomfortable at the end of the exercise. He considered that the experience may have contributed, amongst personal circumstances, to his deciding to leave at that point.

In contrast a positive intervention assists the flow of the work. During Day 2 the process of positive intervention was demonstrated in this exchange:

Tony...*[talking about his 3D model of sounds and scents in a woodland]*
it's not the noise but it's ..that's what to do with that, and then the smells
I've brought back I've concentrated in.....
[He gestures to a clay 'cave' full of leaves in the centre of his model]

Sue: Sniff place....*(laughs)*.....

Tony: Yes...yes....
[General laughter]

A: ..*Oh, you call it a 'sniff-cave'*

⁵ Geoff never returned because of illness. However, he did agree to a final interview.

Tony: Yes...

Ruth: Sniff-cave!

Nora: ...grotto.....

Ruth:... grotto!

A: .. so we should know to go and have a sniff at it!

Tony: It's earth and rotting and er..growing..... new things

Carol: Great.....

[People start to sniff at it]

Tony: It's actually getting quite concentrated.

Carol: Wow!

A: ..What feels good about this bit for you then?

Tony: Erm, I, to be honest the most, the image in my mind that I was most pleased with was the jagged bit....*[he joggles it again to make the noise]*.....that's nice, the, the strongest sense of the bit, and I do like this....*[he crunches the undergrowth stuff again]*...I.....like....crunching it..*[crunches it]*.....crunching through the undergrowth.....

A: ..Hm, that's the bit that gives you the most sense of the place?

Tony: Oh, yeah, I think so, yeah!

A ..Sort of very much the sound bit, hm?

Tony: Yeah.....

A: ..Tractor..the sort of artificial and the.....?

Tony: Yeah, that was kind of, that was today's impression, could, might not have been on a different day and it didn't really stop... though anyway...hm..

A: ..Hm..well I feel invited to sniffI mean you could bottle that couldn't you?!..... (Wk18498B1:020)

In this exchange a combination of both my own and other participants' positive intervention encouraged Tony to talk about his model and to interact with the other

group members. For example, calling Tony's clay cave-like part of his model that he had constructed in order to focus on the smell of the wood, a 'sniff place,' a 'sniff cave' or a 'grotto'. Likewise, the suggestion that the crunchy material gives Tony the sense of the place also acts positively to enable him to confirm his experience with the group. Such positive interventions are outcomes of, and enhance, trust and empathy.

Trust and empathy go hand in hand; both arise from and fuel successful facilitation and appropriate interventions. By empathy I mean the ability to be attuned to another person's situation or viewpoint and to objectively imagine oneself *in* their position. Sympathy, by contrast, means being at one subjectively *with* the other person in their experience. Empathy implies distance from the person but at the same time having a compassionate appreciation of that person's position. Empathy with another person is a most powerful communication skill, and one that has been refined and honed into an essential psychotherapeutic skill. Trust between people often takes a long time to build up, but to be successful I suggest, trust is dependent on a good degree of empathy. There are two reasons why as a qualitative researcher I examined these skills closely. First, I observed that building up trust between myself and the participant, and being empathic, encouraged the participant to share ideas and thoughts, to 'open-up' to the questions and so on. The greater the trust and empathy the more prepared the participant may be to explore sensitive material. Since this research involved early memories and experience, I presumed I would stand little chance of facilitating access to the material unless there was a state of mutual trust and empathy. The researcher who develops a space of genuine trust and empathy with the participant is more likely to fulfil the need for respect, sensitivity, responsibility and confidentiality (Grafanaki, 1996). In other words the participant's ethical needs are more apparent to the researcher in a situation where trust has been allowed to develop. Furthermore, as a result of trust and empathy the researcher will also have, perhaps unconsciously, created a 'holding' space; within what Winnicott terms a 'facilitative environment', meaning a secure place in which the researcher and the participant may mutually work with the research enquiry.

The 'facilitative environment', refers to the earliest experience of infancy described and extensively theorised by Winnicott (1963b, 1968, 1988). Winnicott

observed that literal 'holding and handling' of the infant by the mother (or primary carer) was essential to an infant's successful development and maturation process. He collectively described the mother's holding and handling of the infant, and her role in 'object-presentation', (introduction to the Not-Me world) as the 'facilitative environment'. Successful maturation, Winnicott argues, depends on the empathy and sensitivity of the mother to adapt to the infant's needs, contain the processes of disillusionment, survive the infant's destructive fantasies, and thereby provide an effective facilitative environment for the infant to achieve development from a dependent to an independent autonomous individual.

Why should I start to talk about this facilitative environment, a concept originally used to describe infant and childhood development, in a research context? There are powerful echoes that appear to operate across childhood into adult life. Such echoes are the stuff from which psychoanalysis and psychotherapy derive a theoretical base. Adults in therapeutic settings have provided many insights into the ways in which infant experience informs subsequent adult experience (Winnicott, 1958, 1963a; Bollas, 1992). As a researcher I am concerned with the advantages of working with the concept of the facilitative environment in the research context, in much the same way that therapists working with adults evoke similar conditions to the early environment to facilitate their clients in the therapeutic context. As noted earlier, to facilitate participants in exploring issues there has to be empathy and trust in order to develop good rapport (Grafanaki, 1996). Empathy and trust are both powerful echoes from our earliest environment and relationship. To some degree every qualitative researcher will be thrust unwittingly into 'holding' the researched. In much the same way as Isca Saltzberger-Wittenberg(1983) found in her study of adults in education, past experience is integral to every experience. Sometimes my participants consciously acknowledged past experience, but more importantly, in terms of ethics, past experience may have been evoked unconsciously. As a researcher, my failure to acknowledge this phenomenon of human interaction might have heralded a potential breakdown of ethics. Of the three essential components to the facilitative environment, 'holding' is the one that tends to be most readily translated across the infant/adult realm. Adam Phillips (1988) maintains, that, in his terms, the 'holding environment' or 'congenial milieu' is the 'first and foremost ... provision' of psychoanalytic treatment (1988: 11). Christopher Bollas (1987)

likewise expands Winnicott's original thesis to include the transformatory potential of the facilitative environment, and that this transformation first experienced in infancy via the mother is a powerful force in our adult lives. Bollas contends that as adults we are constantly seeking experiences which have the potential to transform, and by default, will require the 'holding and handling' environment. Bollas acknowledges that the adult search, although tapping into 'existential memory', will discover, indeed must create, fundamentally new experience (Bollas, 1987:39). This acknowledgement is, to my mind, the most relevant to the research use of the concept of holding and facilitating environments, although replicating the facilitative environment may be a difficult task. Neither research nor therapy need be locked into a past pattern; rather we see that the present moment is informed simultaneously by past patterns and future transformations. But to deny the power of either element is to impoverish the environment within which the research is operating and thereby replicate a failed facilitative environment. Such failure reduces the potential space, thus collapsing creativity, connectedness and the freedom for the client or the participant to realise and express themselves in relation to whatever issues are being explored.⁶

In the course of designing the fieldwork I drew extensively on the concept of the facilitative environment and the need to acknowledge the 'holding' process, which would take into account both psychic and ethical needs of participants and researcher, and also facilitate some of the pragmatics of data collection. For instance, I began with basic and relatively simple moves to find a good venue which could assure a physically secure, comfortable space in which participants could work, which also took into account the needs of the less physically able members of the group. In most cases, for one-to-one interviews, people chose to be interviewed in their own homes, where they felt most safe and secure, on home ground. As for

⁶ In the course of therapeutic work, the therapist - often tacitly - 'holds' the client as they experience current feelings, or re-live old events. The therapist, for example, does not break down under the impact of the client's feelings of anger, rage, acute distress, or madness. Instead, in empathy for the client's state, the therapist represents a stable, positive agent, able to withstand and survive the client's powerful emotions. Thereby, the client can experience their feelings and know those feelings as survivable. This process is a deliberate echo of the facilitative environment. Therapeutically, the client is able to gain insights into both their infant experience and adult acting out of those original experiences. Also within the facilitative environment of the sessions the client can, hopefully, gain maturation, and as adults realise not only individual autonomy, but also be open to cultural creativity

workshop space when the first workshop venue proved not to provide exactly the right 'congenial milieu' for participants, another venue was found for the rest of the workshops. Subsequent group dynamics and individual feedback confirmed that this move was a positive recognition of individual and group needs. In this way, the literal physical holding and handling - translated in adult terms to mean warmth, comfort, space, safety, provision for different physical ableness, and security - was the first but vitally important part of creating a successful facilitative environment.

The other task was to pay careful attention to the group and individual dynamics; to the relationships between myself as researcher and each individual, and between members of the research group, and volunteer assistants. My attentiveness was expressed via several activities; in the setting up and running of the group tasks or exercises; in the structuring of the each day's tasks and timetabling; and in the way in which feedback sessions, group discussions, and individual interactions were undertaken. In each case I ensured that the basic structure and instructions of each activity were clear and acceptable, as far as possible, to all members of the group. Timing of sessions and breaks were kept well within the given timetable. When running an exercise I kept in aural contact at intervals throughout. For example, I reiterated instructions or acknowledged when different participants had or had not yet completed a task if there was a need for reassurance, noted timings as the exercise drew to a close, and was available to help find tools or materials if needed. At the same time I remained unobtrusive in terms of the task in progress, never making comments on the modelling, and avoiding unnecessary conversation with individuals. By these means I strove to 'hold' the group, and the individuals within the group, in a similar way to how the carer or parent provides the secure environment for the child, thereby allowing the development of potential space. In this case, the aim was to facilitate adults to engage with their feelings and experience on the edges of awareness that seldom rise to consciousness.

The patterns that are brought to the facilitative environment as re-created in adult life are, however, far from simple, far from perfect, and not without formidable issues for some people, who perhaps carry memories of a failed environment, and or

and exchange (Winnicott, 1967b). The 'holding' of the facilitative environment can be replicated both

damaged or traumatised infancy. Thus, although I might endeavour to provide a good-enough environment there will be both my own and my participants' unresolved issues brought into the space. As a result both group and individual dynamics may veer between harmony and chaos in rapid succession, requiring my appropriate and alert responses to prevent group disintegration. For example, there were at least two separate occasions, both on Day 2, when I was challenged during feedback sessions. On the first occasion, two participants, albeit laughingly, referred to being "guinea pigs" for my fieldwork (Wk18498A1:040). Later in the same session another participant expressed great satisfaction that she could show that my thesis about gender was in some way incorrect: demonstrated in the way that she and one of the male participants had constructed their 3D models of landscape - although in fact, I had never discussed what, if any, thesis I had about gender with any of the participants. These challenges may have been a conscious, or unconscious, attempt to sabotage the workshop session, which had arisen because of participants' own issues around power relations in the group, at a particularly vulnerable and testing point during Day 2 of the workshop series. Whether or not this was the case I was forced to respond to, allow and 'hold' their discontent, which required a rapid drawing on therapeutic skills which helped me to empathise with participants' feelings and respond appropriately. This was necessary in order to prevent my own powerful personal reactions (anger, hurt, feelings of betrayal and upset) from spilling over into the group. If I had 'lost it' the group would have been lost. By my not 'losing it', the group was able to survive the potential destruction and thereafter appeared stronger and more committed to the task (Winnicott, 1969).

However, the longer the fieldwork is designed to continue over time, whether for several sessions or a longer period of observation, the more opportunities there are for complicated group or individual dynamics to emerge. To maintain an ethical and productive research strategy, adequate supervision is essential. In the following section I discuss the advantages of psychotherapeutic supervision in this research context.

3.5: Psychotherapeutic supervision in research

within the interview and group workshop context, and greatly benefits the research enquiry.

Supervision is a process found in several contexts; educational, caring professions (social work and psychotherapeutics), and management. Gunnar Handal and Per Lauvås (1987) make the distinction between supervision as a predominantly *reflective* practice when, for example, used in the teaching and learning context, and supervision as an overseeing of subordinate workers, as found in a managerial context. They suggest reflective practice is a means whereby the student and supervisor can analyse and reflect upon or become attentive to actions or feelings that have occurred within a given situation such as a teaching or learning session. In contrast managerial supervision is a process of an ‘overseer’ telling a subordinate how and what to do in a situation. To be effective, academic postgraduate supervision will ideally be a reflective process between student and supervisor, as opposed to the supervisor simply overseeing and managing their students (Delamont et al., 1997; Phillips & Pugh, 1987/2000). Supervision in the helping professions, such as psychotherapeutics, and social or care work, all aim to use reflective practice to explore the dynamics within the relationship between therapist and client, and support the therapist to develop effective and sensitive ways of working with clients (Bond, 1993). Peter Hawkins & Robin Shohet (1989) maintain that this type of supervision is:

“a very important part of taking care of oneself, staying open to new learning, and an indispensable part of.....ongoing self-development, self-awareness and commitment to learning.” (1989: 5)

Although the common thread of reflection runs through supervision in both educational and psychotherapeutic contexts there are some important differences between the aims of an academic session and that of a psychotherapy supervision. These differences are the focus of this section on the uses of psychotherapeutic supervision, because within the differences lies the core of the research ethics dilemma. As I discuss earlier, my research required participants to explore personal and sometimes sensitive material. I have shown how, in order to act ethically, I needed to draw on interactive skills which still remain largely beyond the accepted current practice of qualitative research.

Codes of ethics and practice in teaching and in research typically encompass such issues as confidentiality, the incompatibility of sexual and professional

relationships, and any relevant legal issues arising, for example, under Data Protection legislation (see for example Delamont et al., 1997). However, outside of setting data protection, confidentiality and sexual boundaries, the rules do not address what kind of ethical *relational* practice the researcher engages in during the contact time of the fieldwork. Qualitative fieldwork often requires that a complex relationship is deliberately and actively encouraged between researcher and participant. In part though, I wonder if academic supervision omits this element of the research because an academic tutor is concerned with the nuts and bolts of guiding the student to study the theory, design the methodology and carry out fieldwork or research tasks and write up their thesis. If a student requires specialist support in an area that their supervisor has little or no experience of, it is common practice for the supervisor to suggest the student go and seek expert advice elsewhere. Thus, to suggest a supervised researcher go and seek psychotherapeutic support is not very different from directing them to any other academic specialist. Exploring the dynamics of relationships constitutes a specialist discipline, at least within an academic frame. The research relationship, as I have discussed in this chapter, does more than simply engage with a generally accepted pattern of social interactions. Rather it is about attentive exploration and enquiry into an area where a researcher and their participants are often vulnerable to personal issues and ways of relating that may profoundly affect the fieldwork. The more attentive the researcher to the research relationship the more chance that they will emerge from the research having gained a greater degree of self-understanding as well as data, having developed their research skills, and developed their ethical awareness. At a most practical level then, encouraging specialist psychotherapeutic supervision during fieldwork can have the advantage of enhancing the outcome of the data collection, as well as supporting the research student, which may have positive repercussions in the ensuing months of analysis and write-up. Certainly in my own research, this process of psychotherapeutic supervision was found to happily run alongside academic supervision.

Psychotherapeutic supervision, then, is concerned with supporting and protecting both researcher and participant. I had a series of supervision sessions during and for a period of time following the fieldwork. In the sessions my supervisor and I engaged in a reflective process, in which I brought an account of my

experience of an interview, group discussion or workshop exercise. Generally I brought material that I saw as problematic. Although I also discussed the dynamics between participants and myself during interviews and in the groupwork, in order to gain greater insight into the conscious and unconscious processes at work. An example of problematic dynamics was the group episode I describe in the previous section. With my supervisor I explored feelings and issues that arose during the incident and exchange, both my own and those that I perceived in the members of the group. There was some recourse to theory that helped to examine the dynamics. There was also an emphasis on my coming to a point of understanding and insight which as Michael Carroll (1996) notes, would create an opportunity for both my own development as the supervised researcher and the enhanced welfare of the participant. In the group episode I described above I recognised I had used an inappropriate intervention. Supervision helped me to see and gain perspective on the dynamic in the relationship between the group members and myself. If I had not acknowledged and explored the anger I felt towards the participants who challenged me, a blurring of issues might have occurred. The research process could have been affected, relations with group could have been soured with potentially damaging effects on the individuals, and possibly negative effects on the research outcome. I would have acted unethically. Instead, in subsequent workshop and interview sessions I was able to focus on the current tasks, without holding or acting on anger or resentment from the group's challenge, and I was able to continue to develop the research relationship. From group and individual feedback the outcome of the workshop sessions was seen to be a sense of mutual achievement and overall enjoyment.

From the above discussion I have demonstrated a number of advantages in my drawing on psychotherapeutic skills in qualitative research. However, as I note above, there were a number of pitfalls about which I had to be aware. For example, interactive skills such as empathy and trust can become imbued with personal likes or dislikes, or insufficient supervisory support might have resulted in my having problems in gaining an overview or insights into the dynamics of the research relationship. I had to be aware of my limits and work within my skills. As a researcher I was categorically not a therapist and I had to be aware of and alert to the differences (Burgess et al., 1988a). Using specialist supervision helped me to keep

aware of the boundaries and limits of my research task. Whilst following the most elementary ethical codes - for example, respecting confidentiality - is taught as part of qualitative research methods, mention of more focused psychotherapeutic skills is virtually absent from written methodology texts (McLeod, 1996; Rennie, 1996). The conflicts over concepts have possibly fuelled the lack of interest in engaging with psychotherapy and counselling skills to inform an approach to qualitative research. Instead, researchers have learned at a personal cost that to enter into an enquiry of human experience, to initiate a mutual exploration of 'unthought knowns' without adequate skilled support can be an exercise in survival rather than growth.

3.6: Conclusion

In this chapter I describe how I drew on D.W.Winnicott's theories of facilitative space, as well as other specific psychotherapeutic skills in order to design methodology which might productively and ethically facilitate participants to connect with early and/or unconscious associations between the self, gender identity and landscape. I described the rationale and the details of the first and second interview, and the timetabling and type of exercises used during the workshops.

I argue that qualitative researchers could greatly benefit personally, professionally and ethically from developing psychotherapeutic skills. I discuss some basic theory and practice of facilitation skills, appropriate interventions, creating a facilitative environment, and an understanding of process of building empathy and trust. With the help of examples from my research data I demonstrate how these interactive skills were used during the fieldwork. I note the importance of recognising that although I am using psychotherapeutic methods the task is research not therapy, and I had to be alert to deflect any attempts to create a therapy group. I discuss the benefits in this research of my seeking psychotherapeutic supervision alongside academic supervision. I suggest that this specialist supervision acknowledged the intricacies of the research relationship, as well as the ethical dimensions of the research, together with the needs of the researcher and the participants. Importantly, I note that psychotherapeutic supervision offers an opportunity for developing research interactive skills, and potentially has a positive

effect on data collection. Having described the design and setting up of the fieldwork I go on in the following chapter to discuss the analysis strategies.

Chapter Four: Analysis: strategies with data

4.1: Introduction

In this chapter I describe the strategies used in management of audio and visual data in terms of collection, storage and analysis. I explore the approaches taken in collecting and transcribing verbatim recordings of audio tapes, and then in the video and photographic recording of visual data. I discuss strategies used in approaching the analysis of data, comparing these strategies with some other researchers in the field. Finally, I detail the techniques used to codify data ready for interpretation of my findings.

4.2: Management of data: collection and storage

Data was collected in three different formats. The first was verbal recordings of interviews and workshops on a total of thirty-five 90 minute audio cassettes. Second, a total of twenty nine hours of video recordings were filmed during the three workshop days, including all sessions, site visits, group discussions, briefings and evaluations. Although only one video camera was available on Day 1, two were obtained for Day 2 and three for Day 3. Lastly a series of photographs were taken of all the models from each session during every workshop, and also a few photographs were taken during each landscape visit. Some photographs were taken by participants, who chose independently to send me copies after the workshops.

4.2.1: Recording and transcribing audio data

Audio-cassette recordings were made of every interview using small cassette recorders, one with an internal microphone, and during the workshops an additional recorder with an external microphone. During each workshop day the tape recorders were left continuously running, one on each of the two work tables. The only times these were switched off were during tea and lunch breaks, and during landscape visits. During the landscape visits the video recorder picked up sound and some of this data was transcribed from the video footage. The aim was to collect as complete an audio record of the workshop and interviews as possible.

Once collected I chose to transcribe the audio data in full verbatim form, including indications of pauses, repetitions, and hesitations. I arrived at this decision having considered various practical and theoretical reasons. Martyn Hammersley & Paul Atkinson (1983) point out that decisions about the type of transcript - and video recording - need to be made in direct relation to the type of information required. They suggest that not all qualitative and/or ethnographic analyses necessarily demand a full transcript; not least because full transcribing is an arduous and time-consuming task, and may produce more detail than will actually be used for the purposes of the analysis. Thus if full transcribing is undertaken there should be good reasons for doing so. Such practical issues are echoed by Herbert and Irene Rubin (1995). Although Irene Rubin contends that if the researcher is looking for an accurate record of an interview then a full transcript should be made, since to do a part transcript supplemented by field notes will not satisfy the demands of the research (Rubin & Rubin, 1995:127). Both Rubin & Rubin (1995) and George Gaskell (2000) advocate combining verbal recordings with fieldnotes at the time of each interview, which they feel encourages memorising details of the interview that are impossible to pick up purely through a text transcription. As I mentioned in Chapter Three, this point is reiterated by Amanda Coffey and Paul Atkinson (1996): even full transcripts will not provide a complete experiential record of the atmosphere of the interview, or of the body language or ideas that may have been stimulated in the researcher's mind.

Diana Rose (2000) argues that the type of transcription chosen should be driven by the theoretical base of the research, and not determined by some routine research practice such as discourse analysis, which may not be relevant (see Potter & Wetherell, 1987, who strongly advocate full phonetic transcription). Rose contends that whereas Potter & Wetherell are committed to detailed discourse analysis, based on full phonetic transcription, she sees that, in some research, semantics may be more important than the absolute linguistic structure as advocated in this kind of discourse analysis. Taking into account these arguments I made the decision to fully transcribe, though not to phonetic standards, as I was not preparing for a full linguistic analysis but a thematic, psychoanalytic-orientated analysis. Therefore

semantics and themes rather than structure was the emphasis. I kept notes variously as the fieldwork continued. Some thoughts and reflections were in the form of audio recordings following workshops, which were also transcribed.

A full transcript allowed the nature of the research material to be captured. I was deliberately working with each individual's early material (memories, associations and connections) and unconscious elements of the Self (including gender identity) in relationship to Other (primary carers, landscape). Therefore, I felt I had to faithfully record, within the constraints of written transcripts, nuances and inferences suggested by pauses, hesitation, use of half-captured words, laughter and repetitions. For example, when Sue was talking of a particularly painful experience as a school prefect, unable to control a class, to omit pauses or repetitions would have reduced powerful nuances and impressions:

I, I mean, they made me be a, a, prefect and....and I was a prefect of the first years, and they could do what they liked with me, *(laughs)*.. I couldn't control them, I mean, *(laughs)*.. I couldn't..*(laughs, but it sounds increasingly like crying)* ...why would I be a teacher, loathsome idea..*(laughs)*..
(Sue: 19398A:220)

Sue's pain and distress in recalling this memory manifests in repetitions; 'I, I'; 'a, a'; hesitations; 'I mean.....I couldn't'; together with a particular quality of laughter. As I transcribe I vividly recall her distress, and as I listen to the recording of her laughter note 'but it sounds increasingly like crying'.

In another example, where I can see a long pause on the transcript I may sense the participant was engaging with the question or response rather than simply giving a 'throwaway' reply. Here Carol is talking about whether changing her sensory awareness has made a difference to the way she walks through the countryside:

Carol: 'I think it, I don't think it's changed particularly the way I'm walking through countryside, I would like it to begin to change how I articulate something about walking through the countryside...ermm.....and it hasn't done

that yet, because I haven't really sat down and started to really work it through or.....

In this first part of her thoughts she is pondering back and forth quite fast and fluently with only one brief break to think. Then I ask another question to facilitate her reflection.

A: ..How would you do that, how would you work it through?

Carol: .Erm.....I think what I'd like to do is to in a sense keep doing what we started, but take a, yeah, I think I need more time.*(laughs)*.....ermm...just to....particularly for me to get away from making something visual is going to take a long time and, and I just was so encouraged by everybody else, and I thought well it can be done, and it'll be OK.' (Carol: 6598B:320)

Carol thinks over this question for a much longer time. The 'Erm' followed by a long space (indicating a long pause) immediately both indicates and reminds me when reading the transcript that Carol really thought about this question. There was a need and a preparedness for her to consider her answer. Recognising these pauses encouraged my memory of the quality and 'feel' of interview. Whilst when using illustrative extracts in the interpretative chapters, I have often edited out pauses, hesitations and repetitions in order to allow a smoother, clearer read, those indicators have proved essential for the purposes of analysis.

I undertook to do all the transcribing myself, as I felt that this was the only way I could hope to deepen my sense of each participant and their conscious and unconscious patterns of their experience. Although Grant McCracken (1988:41-42) argues that transcribing one's own research data can 'invite ... frustration', and he suggests 'familiarity' which interferes with the analysis, I found the opposite occurred. Having to listen to over twenty-four hours of interviews, plus another fifteen or so hours of workshop recordings in such painstaking detail, enabled a highly productive relationship to develop between myself as researcher and the research material. I now read the transcripts hearing each person's voice, their inflection, their tone, their uncertainties, their nervous or amused laughter. Contrary

to McCracken's austere warning my experience with the transcription process has proved an invaluable means to become profoundly immersed in the research data.

I made verbatim transcripts of all audio-cassettes recorded during the first and second individual interviews, during workshop sessions when the group was at work in feedback sessions, and during group discussions. I also transcribed recordings made during debriefing sessions with myself as well as sessions between myself and volunteer helpers on each day. In addition to audio-cassette recordings I transcribed some exchanges that were video recorded, although mostly this was only necessary if a multiple exchange was unclear on audio-cassette. Thus, I acquired an almost complete transcript of all exchanges throughout the fieldwork, bar the most confused multiple discussions, and the one or two occasions during interviews when audio-cassette recording quality was reduced.

4.2.2: Collecting and managing visually recorded data

The decision to video workshop sessions was taken in order to have a record of participants' engaged in 3D modelling sessions, a data set that would be largely visual and non-verbal. My aim was to have a full record of both the group dynamics at a non-verbal level, and most importantly the process of modelling and the body language of participants during this process, as well as a record of the landscape visits. Photographs alone, being a static record of event or result, could not provide a record of processes. Thus, every session was filmed in entirety, plus feedback sessions, group discussions and all landscape visits. Christian Heath (1997) discusses the use of video recording in studies of the doctor-patient non-verbal relationship. He describes how using the relevant video stills with their associated verbal transcript allowed a highly effective means of exploring the interaction. Whilst acknowledging the limitations of video, he makes the point that video can capture details of the relationship between verbal interaction, activity and body language that are not possible with transcripts: so video has the potential of representing more than a visual equivalent of the audio-cassette recording. However, there are a few problem areas in using video as a recording tool, which had to be taken into account when embarking on setting up the collection of visual/non-verbal data. Recognising some

of the issues before starting filming was important in order to reduce difficulties as far as possible given the constraints of the fieldwork venue and available technical support. I was hampered by a distinct lack of literature on filming techniques, although as discussed below there is a growing literature on the theory of visual methodologies, and literature on film theory, which has been useful in some ways at the analytic stage. Fortunately, I was given some basic but invaluable technical advice from Edinburgh University Audio-Visual Services Department.

The first issue was making the choice of what to film. My aim was clear: to collect as much non-verbal, modelling, and group interaction data as possible (Summerfield, 1983). Secondly, I had to work out ways in which I could communicate effectively with the helpers who were doing the filming. Thirdly, I had to give good feedback as the workshops proceeded to iron out videoing problems if and when they arose. Thus improvements could be made to the data collection as the fieldwork went along. We could also ensure the video was filmed in a sensitive and ethical manner with the least disturbance to participants, and that participants were given adequate opportunity to feedback their experience of being filmed and recorded (Byron, 1993). In terms of choosing what to film, video recordings markedly differ from audio recordings in the range of material that can be recorded. The audio-cassettes placed on the tables during a workshop exercises were set to continuously record, thus they picked up all verbal exchanges within the range of each small group. The video camera, however, by being pointed at a model or a participant's hands touching sand or fashioning clay was exclusive in its record of an image. Even if the camera was pointed in such a way as to take in a whole small group table, a frustrating loss of detail occurred, or two participants would have their back to the camera occluding the filming and so on. During landscape visits the video camera could not be everywhere at once. Consequently, we tended to record only participants gathered or wandering in a small area, resulting in more filming of less-able bodied, less active participants, and less record of the more active participants who mostly walked over a wider range. Thus, video proved a much less complete record than audio-recordings. These frustrations with videoing research data are shared by Anssi Peräkylä (1997) who equally notes the importance of

making simultaneous but separate audio recordings in an attempt to pick up on interactions that are inevitably going to be missed by videoing. My concerns with this problem led to the number of video cameras being increased to three by the final day. Certainly, more cameras, coupled with a greater precision of filming improved the coverage and record of data over the time of the fieldwork. The most effective strategy was eventually found to be a combination of filming. For example, one video helper would be briefed to concentrate on recording detailed modelling, moving slowly between participants as opportunities arose. Another helper would film a continuous overview with a slowly changing emphasis according to different levels of activity in the room or during a landscape site visit; and if available another helper would move between filming detail and/or overview as appropriate.

Communicating with video helpers was vital as filming progressed, including ensuring a good level of feedback following each workshop day. Thus, I watched each day's filming immediately following the workshop, sometimes doing a brief review in the tea break following an exercise. This strategy was adopted in order to advise video helpers on any adjustment in emphasis, or to discuss ways to improve technique. De-briefing sessions also had the purpose of maintaining a clear sense of the aim of the videoing, that of providing as accurate and full a record as possible of the group dynamics, body language and modelling process. Participants were free to comment at any time on the video recording, but throughout the workshops the only feedback was that no one found the filming an imposition in any way. To my surprise many people commented that they had quite quickly during the very first session of Day 1 ceased to be aware of the video, having become so absorbed in the tasks of each session - the only exception that I observed was one participant who had a great deal of experience with drama studies and at times seemed to 'play' to the camera. Some of this positive response was hopefully a reflection on what was certainly an impressive ability of most video helpers to maintain a sensitive and unobtrusive film technique: coupled with good feedback mechanisms, moments of humorous relief and a generally relaxed atmosphere. This response to the cameras and filming confirms psychology studies by Charles Renne, Peter Dorwick and Glen Wasek (1983) which note that although there will inevitably be interaction between

camera and participant, obtrusive effects are greatly reduced if proper attention is paid to the ethics of filming. For instance, participants need to know exactly the purpose of filming, what will happen to the recordings afterwards, and to have given full and informed consent. Also, the more used participants become to the camera, and the better and more sensitive the videoing, the less they notice and interact with the filming. These were criteria that, in this fieldwork, my video helpers and myself all attempted to fulfil to as great an extent as was possible.

Initial management of the video material included the compilation of three separate video films made from the original footage. The first was a fifty minute video film produced from all three workshop days as a general overview of the project for myself, and for participants to watch if they wished after the workshops and second interviews were completed. The most useful purpose of this exercise, in terms of data management, was to familiarise myself with the content of the visual record and various significant events, processes and dynamics that occurred within the workshop series. This process of familiarisation continued with the creation of two further videos from the original footage. An eight minute video film was made for a departmental seminar, where the emphasis was on close-ups of participants' 3D modelling. A third video of fifty minutes was a compilation of footage filmed during the three sandplay sessions, and was used as an analysis tool. In addition to this footage a total of forty eight video stills were captured from the original recordings: giving a record of each participant at work on at least one of their 3D models. Some video stills showed details of the landscape site visit. Examples of these video stills can be seen as illustrations in the three interpretative chapters. A total of fifteen video stills were also chosen for public viewing during an independent exhibition of work from the Open Studies course during January 1999 at the Folly Arts Centre, Lancaster. Capturing video stills for the exhibition involved two participants and one of the volunteer helpers as well as myself. I deliberately invited any of the group to be involved in this process, since it was their work that would be publicly exhibited. Although only two participants and one volunteer elected to take part their input not only added a different dimension to the interpretation of the material - for example,

encouraging detailed exploration of close up shots of modelling work - but also provided useful feedback in the early stages of the analysis.

Photographs were taken by helpers and myself at the end of each workshop sessions, and during landscape visits. The aim of the photographs were to provide a static, easily accessible record of each model made at the end of every session, including sandplay, material and landscape models. We also took photographs of the landscape sites, and in some cases a record of the activities during landscape visits. The photographs proved very useful during the second interviews, when I took the entire collection, filed under session and workshop day, to every interview for each participant to view. Partly this acted as a stimulus for memories and ideas of the day, but also provided a useful starting point to re-engage with the research enquiry. In addition to my own collection of photographs some participants had chosen to photograph their own models and other people's models with permission, and by the end of the fieldwork three participants had, quite independently chosen to forward me copies to keep in the data collection. One or two people also took photographs of the landscape visits. Each individual photo was labelled with the participant code or site visit code and date of workshop day. Some illustrations for the interpretative chapters are photographs.

4.3: Analysis strategies

In this section I discuss the analysis of the textual, transcribed data and the visual data. In the course of the analysis process I have, from necessity, examined the video material and the transcribed material from some different perspectives, but the basic processes are very similar. The aim in approaching both textual and visual data has been to maintain an overview, whilst simultaneously engaging with detail, as well as holding a dynamic sense of each participant - both as an individual and as someone in the context of the group and the research as a whole. This aim might seem an acrobatic feat impossible to achieve. But like any sensory experience, in which we have a sense of the whole while focusing on some detail as required, one has to develop a means of codifying and indexing the data which allows us to be able to see the whole clearly laid out. Then we need be able to focus on the detail at many

different levels. My analysis methods, in the visual and the textual data analysis, to some extent allowed for the kind of grounded theory approach advocated by Anselm Strauss & Juliet Corbin (1998) where the analysis frees up the material to develop theory rather than imposing a theoretical structure upon the material. Strauss & Corbin for example suggest a system of 'open coding' which allows codes to emerge spontaneously from the material, rather than predetermining which codes will be pulled out of the material. An 'open coding' method was adapted in this analysis. Moreover, I did not regard Winnicottian notions as fixed, or the only theory to be worked with in the course of analysis - although I did variously and at different times reflect upon material from a Winnicottian perspective. By not attempting to impose theory upon the material, a number of notions and ideas emerged that were not possible to place in Winnicottian theory, but formed other indirectly related facets of interpretation.

4.3.1: Approaching transcribed data

I approached transcribed data using a method in which a series of charts were created which related firstly to major themes and secondly to interviews and workshop sessions. I was aiming to be able to uncover unconscious associations as well as examining conscious material. On each chart I recorded textual extracts and single words in coded categories. The codes and themes emerged from a process of systematic analysis of both a whole interaction recorded in the transcripts which had occurred in response to a question, feedback discussion or situation, as well as frequency and type of use of particular words and phrases. This method, the finer details of which are discussed in Section 4.4, uses a hybrid variety of analysis that I developed as a homoeopath, when I was teaching homoeopathic case analysis. In case analysis the emphasis is precisely that of gauging a sense of the whole person or situation whilst noting precise details, as a way of gaining insights into unconscious material.

In approaching the material by retaining an overview at the same time as maintaining an awareness of details is the kind of analytic evaluation also used extensively in psychotherapeutics. In order to access unconscious associations, which

was a major purpose of this thesis, I needed to follow these analysis strategies. Psychotherapist and psychiatrist Robert Hobson (1985:116), for example, talks about the ways of insight. He notes, 'In a moment of new vision, the physical outward eye and the inward eye *see* in harmony. Seeing into is also "seeing beyond". In other words, when one is attempting to perceive meaning at unconscious levels one has to call on a particular kind of awareness. In some ways, I suggest, this different awareness is a complex mix of the semiotic, the mechanistic, and the intuitive: a kind of linear logic in intricate interplay with lateral and symbolic thinking. Psychotherapist Christopher Bollas (1995:15) describes the development of awareness of unconscious meanings in others as gaining a specific sensibility, which he names a 'separate sense'. In psychotherapeutics, as in certain in-depth qualitative research, the aim is to facilitate the emergence of unconscious meanings into conscious awareness of the many facets of those meanings. This process is achieved through the communication of the participant's unconscious to the researcher, who over time attunes to the participant's unconscious. As Bollas suggests, in the psychotherapeutic context the analyst, "*...allies with the unconscious*, adopting a mentality that, as it becomes timeless, plastic, and open to contradiction, develops into an unconscious sensibility"(author's emphasis) (1995:14).

Thus, calling on an awareness of unconscious meanings is a vital part of the analytic process when dealing with material which is charged with unconscious meanings, in order to reduce problems at the interpretation stage. Adam Phillips (1988) discusses D.W.Winnicott's awareness of the dangers of interpretation in the psychotherapeutic context, which translates as the 'analytic process' in a research context. He notes that Winnicott saw interpretation as only possible through the patient's developmental process; all else would be at the expense of the patient's loss of true self. Put into a research context, at the analysis stage, unless the researcher is alert to the participant's process in relation to the research enquiry, there may be an obscuring of the meaning in the analysis. By the 'participant's process' I am referring to that state of ongoing, dynamic interaction to the enquiry which may be communicated to the researcher verbally and non-verbally. At the analysis stage an interaction with a question obviously may be interpreted by and via the researcher in

a number of ways, thus there needs to be continual referencing back to the original material to ensure as accurate an interpretation as possible.

In keeping with the particular sensibilities required for engaging with the material during the analysis, I chose not to use any specific computer-assisted analysis tools, like for example Hypersoft, as developed by Ian Dey (1993). I have used computer technology for indexing, filing and organising data. I do not reject computer analysis as a useful tool in other contexts. Indeed, without a computer to assist the analysis process in myriad ways I would have been severely compromised on speed and efficiency of the handling and management of the data. Dey exhorts researchers to use his system because it is not only efficient but also 'fun'. Nigel Fielding & Raymond Lee (1991: 8) urge researchers not to project illogical fears on to programmes, which are harmless but open to human 'misapplication' in untutored or insufficiently tutored hands. But, I felt such tools, in this particular project, may inhibit the evaluation process. The analysis in this instance required a 'holistic' approach on my part, a 'tuning in' at conscious and unconscious levels. In contrast computer-assisted analysis works with conscious links, from the transcribed text. Already as John Seidel (1991) notes, the use of audio-recording technology has 'distanced' the researcher from the raw data. The use of the computer analysis can deepen and further that distance, however commendable the benefits of these technologies, and even with taking into account the human factor that can just as easily fail to engage with the material, computer or no computer (Fielding & Lee, 1991). As a result of distancing the researcher may lose an opportunity to integrate what has been described by Lyn and Tom Richards (1989) as the 'untypable ... fleeting ... doodles in which insight is captured' (Fielding & Lee, 1991:8). This would be a loss that I would find especially daunting in research that demands a high degree of human alertness at multiple levels of engagement, a methodology that Michael Agar (1991:193), perhaps bravely asserts requires, 'intuition and serendipity'.

Other literatures, whilst continuing to praise efficiency and time-saving, further acknowledge these drawbacks of relying too heavily on computer analysis,

particularly at the evaluation stage. Here the danger of developing an overly mechanistic approach to the data can prevent the researcher making comprehensive conceptual leaps in their grasp of meanings embedded in the material (Richards & Richards, 1991a, 1991b; Dey, 1993). Although programmes are being developed with increasing sophistication in the handling of qualitative data, there remains the issue of qualitative analysis being forced into a quantitative mould (Richards & Richards, 1991b). Even without computerisation the problems of codification causing a loss of the sense of the personal story or account is well-known amongst qualitative researchers (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Computer analysis can all too easily lose the essence of the individual, encouraging the researcher's cultural stereotypes. Conversely, the technology becomes the means to an end, offering 'comfortable certainty' as opposed to a tool for exploring data that is by nature full of 'ambiguities of indeterminate pattern' (Agar, 1991:182).

Essential to the analysis methodology in this project was the need for the constructs of personal meaning to flow *within* the inevitable cultural constructs and stereotypes. The task of the analysis was to create an accessible collation of data that not only indicated the stereotypes at work, but 'flagged up' each participant's conscious and unconscious complexities in relation to different issues and areas of the research. With all this in mind computer-assisted technology was set aside in favour of the system of charts, profile cards and codes.

4.3.2: Analysis of visually recorded data

Whilst gathering information about body language, types of modelling materials used, group and individual dynamics and running of each session, video recordings proved a highly useful analysis tool (Heath, 1997). Photographs of the 3D models were helpful, although as I note above, proved limited as an analytic tool. They did however provide an easily accessible reminder of the nature of each model and determining the types of materials used in their construction. There were also limitations in the contribution to the analysis of participants taking the photographs of their models, or of the landscape sites. This thesis was concerned with process and relationship, as opposed to the type of landscape research with the aim of exploring

landscape preferences. For instance, Susan Tapsell et al.(2001) and Fiona Smith & John Barker (2001) conducted research with groups of children, setting off on site visits armed with cameras to record preferences (see Rodaway & Askew, 1999). In earlier preference-based work with adults, photographs of places were shown to participants who stated their preference or not for the landscape depicted (see Sell & Zube, 1986; Kaplan & Kaplan, 1989). Although a range of questions may be pursued in these kinds of enquiry around composition and engagement with the photograph in relation to preference (see Rose, 1996), this type of research methodology does not allow scope for examining the processes of relationship between participants and landscape. Therefore, in this thesis, the photograph was not regarded as an expression of a participant's preference, but a record of the modelled expression of their sensory perception, and/or a reminder of their experience during the workshop. Some participants more than others wanted to have a record of their models, which in most cases were thrown away following the end of each session. Thus, in both photography and in the video recordings while the *actions* recorded have been a focus for analysis, the *act of* recording has not been a focus, because I was concerned with the participant's experience as opposed to what video technicians filmed of that experience. I have discussed above my criteria of what I chose to record. Video technicians, by necessity amateur, followed this brief each session, with varying degrees of accuracy. When approaching this visual data analytically I chose to take the unedited full version of the video. I wanted to ensure that the whole visual record could be examined. I then used methods adapted from content analysis of visual data, in which I used a system of codes to identify particular body language and movements. I describe these codes in detail below.

Although there is a significant body of theoretical literature in geography which addresses sensory perception,¹ there are massive gaps in literatures on empirical qualitative research in sensory perception of any kind, especially in

¹ e.g. phenomenological/humanist writers such as Buttimer (1976), Seamon (1980), Relph (1976, 1991), Tuan (1974, 1977, 1989), Rodaway (1994, 1995); writers concerned with the sensory experience of embodiment and or place such as Pocock (1981, 1989), Porteous (1990), Hiss (1990), Pile (1996), Kirby (1996), Johnson (1996), Longhurst (1996,1997), Valentine (1998), and lastly specific literatures on sensory perception from an artistic, spatial and/or cultural perspective such as Zonn (1984), Quoniam (1988), Crouch & Toogood (1999).

geography. Sensory perception research is seemingly limited to all but psychological and therapeutic literatures, such as art therapy. Visual methodologies offer some basis for analytic techniques. However, as my research is centred around sensory, in particular tactile perceptions, although I made use of current visual methodology literatures, I also needed to adapt analysis techniques to develop a thematic sensory methodology akin to that I describe for textual analysis.

Michael Ball & Gregory Smith (1992) describe the use of content analysis in two studies of visual ethnographic records.² Content analysis, meaning literally recording the 'content' of the visual record of a photograph or video clip provides a quantitative, objective description, which has been adapted in my analysis to examine the visual evidence of content and structure of the 3D models. Martin Bauer (2000) and Diana Rose (2000) discuss the use of classical content analysis. Bauer used content analysis with sound and music whereas Rose analysed moving images, both clearly demonstrating the ease with which a textual analysis tool can be adapted to analysis of sensory material. Rose analysed television images, and was concerned with representation, as opposed to my visual images as a record of actual events. However, her study offered several guides to developing coding frames and deciding the unit of analysis when working with visual material, which can be usefully applied to my visual and other sensory data. Rose advocates that coding must be theory driven. For instance the coding frame adopted must be relevant for to the aim and purpose of the research. In her study of TV filming she was concerned to create a coding frame which recorded for instance the number of shadowy versus bright shots, and the number of times certain characters were filmed. Rose numbered each frame on the film and then allocated a graded code of the degree of light or dark on that frame, and the character filmed. She then analysed the frames and produced a qualitative, thematic interpretation.

² Ball & Smith (1992:22) cite two examples of the use of content analysis as a means of obtaining quantitative and objective descriptions; Richardson & Kreober (1940) in their study of women's evening or formal dress in Western Europe and the United States, and Robinson (1976) in an investigation of men's facial hair.

Following this maxim of theory-driven coding techniques, I developed a series of visual codes which were relevant to the research enquiry. For example, the content of each unit of analysis consisted of recorded body language, the range of hand movements, types of materials used, and ways materials were handled. The unit of analysis was taken as a timespan of a single session, such as a twenty minute sandplay or forty minute landscape modelling session. Other codification techniques, as part of a content analysis used in a study of photographic data by Lutz & Collins (1993), have also proved useful in determining the type of codes that might be applied most productively to visual material. Although each project demands unique codes, Lutz and Collins suggest general ideas for codes that are less task-specific. For example, they used codes which covered facial expressions, and 'Activity level' or 'Activity type' 'Technological type present (simple handmade tools, machinery)' (Lutz & Collins, 1993:285). These codes are useful as general indicators of the different information that may be accessed in the visual record, from non-verbal expression and body language to use of artefacts and materials, which are applicable as codes for the visual record in my research. Thus, in my codification I have seen ways of productively using a visual content analysis approach even though, in contrast to Lutz and Collins, I have not needed to subject the findings to statistical analysis, but have followed Rose (2000) in using the data to provide material for a purely qualitative analysis.

As artefact the video or photograph is, in this research, not the subject of analysis. But, as I note above, the video recordings and photographs are a rich source of data in terms of a visual record of process, event, non-verbal group and individual dynamics, body language, techniques used in modelling, composition and structure of models. In various ways, therefore, the visual record provides objective information of the subjective sensory - tactile, aural, olfactory - experience of each participant. So, in this way, even though the research was exploring other senses and deliberately relegated the visual to lesser importance, I have still drawn, to some extent, on visual methodology literatures. In determining the most appropriate model for analysis of the visual material I have adhered to this distinction between artefact and record, although the literatures describing visual analysis arising from empirical

research are rare, and those available do not always make this clear. (There is a huge body of literature on analysis of visual representation, but as I note above, whilst such literatures have some useful pointers, they are limited when faced with analysis of empirical sensory material found in this project). However, Ira Heilveil (1983) would seem to support the distinction between the video as an artefact and the video as record. In discussing ways of using video recordings in a therapeutic context, Heilveil describes the video as a feedback tool, a 'mirror' and/or a focus group or one-to-one discussion point. The material generated by the record can therefore be analysed from a variety of different angles, ranging from therapeutic, visual, sensory, and textual (Heath, 1997).

Applying analysis to video material in this way is in direct contrast to that of Joyce Davidson (2000, 2001) who subjects video material, used as an information film for people suffering from agoraphobia, to a detailed content analysis. The focus in Davidson's work is on the mechanisms and discourses involved in the creation, presentation and context of the visual artefact. Although my research is also concerned with mechanisms and discourse, the focus is on objective interpretation of a record of proceedings, and a means to explore visual material produced by participants. The aim is to access the participants' subjective sensory experience as expressed through the modelling process and during verbal interviews. Hence, in the visual analysis process I developed codes around body-language and sensory experience by engaging with both visual and verbal data in a way that blends visual and therapeutic methodologies.

4.4: Codification techniques

The above discussion outlines my approach to the codification process. The material was analysed with the aim of maintaining the integrity of the account, whilst enabling complex layers of subjective experience and meaning to emerge: whilst recognising that no analysis and process of codification can ever capture an event in its entirety (Hammersley, 1992; Peräkylä, 1997). In this section I give the details of codes chosen, preparation of charts and describe the collation of data ready for interpretation.

4.4.1: Codes, charts, files and collation

Codes were designated as primary and secondary, and applied to transcripts and visual data. Primary codes were chosen initially by setting the research questions against the data. Secondary codes were 'open' and emerged as the analysis proceeded (see Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Both primary and secondary codes were 'open' to adjustment: for instance if a primary code turned out to be less productive, or in the case of secondary codes if emergent associations and connections were found to require a greater emphasis. For example, following the first round of reading and analysing themes the primary code 'Gender: Descriptives and emotions' was first broken into secondary areas such as 'Recreation' and 'Influence on landscape perception'. As the analysis progressed other codes were added, 'Tomboy', 'Free to play out', 'Identification with Male or Female'. Two of the original codes 'Recreation' and 'Identification' proved less important and were sidelined in favour of 'Tomboy' and 'Free to Play Out'. Another primary code for Gender categorised specific references to Male, Female, and if apparent from descriptive verbs, positive or negative connotations attached to Male or Female. From the original codes 'Tomboy' emerged as such an overwhelming theme that it also moved from a secondary code to a primary. There was no point at which the codification was seen as fixed and absolute but rather a dynamic, responsive process.

A3 spreadsheet charts, A4 individualised charts and an A5 card file system were used to collate the codified data. A total of twenty five A3 spreadsheet charts were generated (see Appendix 3 for an example of an A3 chart). The primary codes (underlined) and secondary codes used on the charts were as follows:

1. Basic information on each participant e.g. age, occupation, location - whether rural, urban etc. family relations, family influence on landscape perception. (This information is set out in Appendix 1)
2. Gender - predominant descriptives and emotions, influence of gender on landscape perception, gender identification [charted according to interview and workshop]
3. Gender – perception of male and female: (male, female, +ve male, -ve male, +ve female, -ve female)

4. Tomboy - (textual extracts from transcripts of participants who identified themselves as 'tomboys')
5. Landscape – memories and connections: earliest memories of landscape, connections with landscape (aesthetic, utilitarian, naming, kinetic, historical, spiritual/intuitive), meanings of word landscape.
6. Landscape descriptives [charted according to interview and workshop]
7. Landscape Elements: Interview 1: (wood/plants, earth/rock, air/space, fire, water, metal, animals/birds/human, buildings) [charted according to interview and workshop]
8. Landscape Elements: Workshops (secondary codes as above)
9. Landscape Elements: Interview 2 (secondary codes as above)
10. Senses in relation to landscape: Interview 1 (touch/tactile, visual, sound, smell, taste, emotions) [charted according to interview and sessions in workshop]
11. Senses in relation to landscape: Workshop 1/session 1 & 2 (2nd codes as above)
(Charts 11 – 17 recorded all Workshop days and sessions)
18. Materials - types of modelling materials: Workshop 1/session 2 sand, clay, textiles, wood/plants, metals/glass, plastics/paper, gathered materials.[charted according to workshop as above – Chart 18 – 24 covered Workshops 1 – 3 and all sessions bar sandplay on Day 1 and 2 (I knew only sand had been used) Day 3 sand and water was included as a variety of materials were used]
25. Modelling movements (body language as in position of body, type of hand and finger movements, body actions) [charted according to workshop session] (See Appendix 5 for a summary of this chart).

Entries onto the charts were of either single words used or in some codes a phrase used. A simple system of indication of repetition of words or phrases was employed. For example, lower case = single use, *italics* = used 3 times, **BOLD and underlined** = used more than 6 times throughout a transcript. Where data was collated from visual sources my interpretative words were used for example, 'sharp' hand movement, 'precise' poking with fingers, placing 'carefully', 'strong' whole hand movements and so on. The interpretations were open to refinement and adjustment by repeated reference to video records: a process which I maintained

throughout the analysis and the interpretative stage. Once formatted on an A4 document, for ease of use each chart was printed out, enlarged on a photocopier to A3, and thereon all references entered by hand. Each reference was given a numeral, which refers to the line of the transcript it comes from. Where references are compiled from more than one transcript as in the case of the workshop sessions a letter and number was given A1, A2 or B1, B2, which refers to the particular transcript document.

There were two major advantages in the A3 chart method, the first was a practical point: I found that using A3 charts and working by hand allowed a large amount of data to be entered without complicated formatting on a computer document. Secondly, once completed, the charts allowed both an immediate overview of emphasis in each category, and rapid access to the detailed reference within each 'box'. For example, Chart 2: 'Gender: descriptives and emotions' tells me at a glance that references to gender were most frequent during interview 2 and least mentioned during the workshops. Chart 16: Interview 2: 'Senses in relation to landscape' (which included a code for emotions) shows that in the final interview there was a fairly equal emphasis on visual and emotional responses with both closely followed by an increased awareness of touch. When compared with Chart 9: Interview 1: 'Senses in relation to landscape', it was easy to see how the emphasis had adjusted: visual had been dominant, there were fewer emotional references and many fewer tactile references. The charts allowed rapid identification of overall patterns across the whole group for analysis and interpretation. By looking at individual participant's entries in the boxes it was possible to track detailed changes in emphasis, word use and content across a workshop, and/or over the whole fieldwork, or between one session and an interview.

The A4 individualised charts (see Appendix 4), and charts with body language codes (see Appendix 5) were built as a specific index from a vertical column of information from the A3 charts. These were another means to rapidly identify individual patterns of emphasis and content over the fieldwork, and formed the basis for the A5 card profile system. The individual A5 card profiles are a series

of index cards that record all the charted responses of each participant. In this case I have built the index from a horizontal column across the A3 charts. The index cards also include transcript text on specific issues e.g. the code ‘Tomboy’ and ‘Influence of gender on landscape’. Both chart index and card index allow an easily accessible overview coupled with detailed input on group and individual responses in all the different situations each person was involved in during the research. A5 cards were invaluable for providing a complete detailed overview of each individual participant across the entire range of codes including visual codes and in each context be it workshop or interview (see Appendix 6).

4.5: Conclusion

The strategies used in management of audio and visual data in terms of collection, storage and analysis have adhered to the principles of psychoanalytically-orientated research. In collecting data I recorded verbal interactions and non-verbal body language and activities to as accurate a degree as possible. With reference to other textual and visual researchers I transcribed fully, paying careful attention to semantics and patterns. I note that this data did not require a phonetic standard of discourse analysis. I set up analytic strategies that allowed an equal overview of data and detail, and followed a combination of analytic strategies derived from grounded theory, psychoanalysis and my own hybrid homoeopathic case analysis. I used a system of A3 and A4 charts and an A5 card file system to collate and store data ready for interpretation. Having described the details of the analytic strategies used I now move into the interpretative and discursive section of the thesis.

Chapter Five: Stereotypes and Myths

5.1: Introduction

In the next three chapters I examine the complexities of gender identity and perception of landscape through the accounts of participants, together with my own observations during interviews and workshops, and I discuss various interpretations of the material. This chapter looks at the presence of gender stereotypes and landscape myths in participants' reflections and experience. In contrast to perceptions of rigid or clearly defined stereotypes and myths, I suggest stereotypes in particular can have flexibility and fluidity, and are considered open to negotiation. In Chapter Six, I focus on the ways participants related to gender issues, exploring the processes of developing self-defined gender identity. In Chapter Seven I take up the discussion from Chapter Five which explores the presence of landscape myths. I look at participants' sensory perception and subjective experience of landscape, in particular experiences described and observed during the workshops. I conclude Chapter Seven by drawing these intersections of gender, landscape and subjective, sensory experience together in a discussion of the observed relationship between gender identity and landscape perception.

In this chapter, I look at the presence of stereotypes and myths in participants' ideas and descriptions about gender and landscape. I make a distinction between stereotypes, which arose mostly in reference to gender, and myths associated with landscape. As I discuss below, a stereotype is a description (often of contested accuracy) of perceived traits or attributes in an individual, group or object. Stereotypes most commonly arose in relation to perceived cultural gender differences and perceived gender roles, when participants were discussing a trait or attribute associated with gender identity. In contrast, a myth tends to be a fantasy and/or narrative of events or experiences that may or may not stem from some real occurrence. Myths commonly arose in descriptions of landscape when participants were talking about their perception and memories associated with landscape. The most blatant use of stereotypes and myths occurred at moments of relatively superficial social engagement during interviews or in group discussions. Using a

stereotype or myth, in describing or reflecting upon an experience or issue around the research topic, appeared to be a frequent first port of call when people were asked to offer a first impression, a request which in many cases evoked some formulaic image. Participants also often tended to move back and forth between stereotypes and myths into complex individualised images or references, which afforded some insights into the relationship of the person to the stereotype or myth evoked.

Section 5.2 is concerned with the presence and use of gender stereotypes. First, I develop a working definition of the term 'stereotype'. Second, in exploring the interview and workshop material, I demonstrate the various areas in which stereotyping occurred and I look at the ways in which stereotypes tended to be referred to or emerged in discussions about gender in relation to landscape. In Section 5.3, I examine the nature and use of myth and memory in relation to landscape by first developing a working definition of myth and memory. I then discuss the various myths drawn upon and worked with during the project.

5.2: Stereotypes

In defining the term stereotype, Victor Ottati & Yueh-Ting. Lee (1995), in their exploration of stereotype accuracy, note that one single definition is notoriously difficult to find in the literature, but that generally the stereotype is seen to, 'involve ascribing characteristics to social groups or segments of society' (1995:30). Furthermore, they point out that stereotypes themselves are stereotyped, being frequently viewed as negative, often spurned as inaccurate, irrational, and biased. Social psychologists, for example, have tended to regard stereotyping as a social projection and thus by default distorting and inaccurate (Bramel, 1993). Stereotypes sometimes seem synonymous with prejudice and 'evil' 'erroneous' discrimination (Worchel & Rothgerber, 1997). Nigel Rapport, as a social anthropologist examining the ways in which migrants make use of stereotypic discourses, has found a similar almost universal view of the stereotype as negative (Rapport, 1995). He cites authors who have variously referred to stereotypes as 'rigid', 'formulaic', 'rehearsed' and 'automatic' (Wrightsmann, 1977; Fillmore, 1976) or the stereotype as 'clichégenic' (Zijderveld, 1979).

However, other research suggests that in ‘stereotyping’ the stereotype as universally negative and fixed, some important and complex functions that the stereotype fulfil are ignored (see Yzerbyt et al., 1997; Ellemers & van Knippenberg, 1997; Rapport, 1995; Jussim et al., 1995). For example, stereotyping can be a way in which people are able to simplify a complex world, or the stereotype can ‘work as ‘enlightening gestalts’, allowing various bits of information to act together adding richness to the whole picture (Yzerbyt et al., 1997:21). In using stereotypes Rapport (1995) believes people are mapping out, referencing and locating themselves in the current discourse, and that it is important to recognise the function of the stereotype rather than label it good or bad, accurate or inaccurate. On that same more liberating theme, Stephen Worchel & Hank Rothgerber (1997) note the inherent flexibility of the stereotypes and how individuals and social groups are in constant negotiation and interpretation of stereotypes. They argue that the stereotype is a ‘multidimensional construct’, open to change from both group and individual influence (Worchel & Rothgerber, 1997:88).

This way of looking at stereotypes allows for what I describe as a ‘relational’ approach to be taken, in much the same way as I propose for issues around gender identity (see Chapter Six). Most usefully then, the presence of stereotypes can be a pointer to particular ground rules or cultural mapping employed as the ‘first port of call’ when someone is asked about an issue. Having ascertained their basic concepts or images around a topic their relationship to those ideas can be explored, and insight gained into why that individual made use of those concepts in the first place, and how the stereotypes are negotiated with and developed. The relational approach is, in many ways, applying Winnicott’s concept of potential space as the ‘between’ space within which we negotiate relations of Self and Other in a creative dynamic, which he outlines most clearly in discussing the ‘location of culture’ (Winnicott, 1967a). The relational approach in exploring the participants’ use of stereotypes (and as I discuss later, myths), can unearth insights that may remain hidden if stereotyping and myth-making are treated as merely negative, simplistic formulas, parroted out, and bearing little relation to the individual’s personal concepts of the issues involved.

5.2.1: Cultural stereotypes as common language

Stereotypes, as defined above, appear throughout the research material, arising in certain instances as part of descriptions about landscape as well as in the more common reference to gender. For example, questions asked about first impressions of landscape almost always produced a stereotypic example as an answer : a phenomenon that may be a means of quickly establishing a common language between researcher and participant. However, these ‘stereotypic’ first impressions of landscape rapidly became individualised and complex, or in some cases, as I discuss in Section 5.4, charged with myth, mythologised memory and fantasy. Stereotypes were, however, most persistent in discussions about gender, a topic where myths, as defined below, were never evoked. Two female participants in referring directly to their use of stereotypes when discussing gender appeared almost apologetic for doing so:

Ruth: “I tend to see urbanised landscape as male, ‘cos its usually men that mess it about, and I know that’s terribly stereotypical of me, but for me its a universal truth.” (8598B: 2/160)

Kath: “Boys..if they go outside..need to be playing football...girls go sit quietly under a tree...I have more emotional exchange with landscape - maybe I’m just stereotyping” (13598 B: 380)

For two women though, referring to stereotyping seemed to call on a common language with which to ponder, with the interviewer, on the ways they thought about men and women’s behaviours in different social contexts connected with the project. There was a tacit assumption that the interviewer would know the stereotypes, since there was no attempt to describe the stereotypes referred to in detail. For example, Nora when talking about two other women participants having their picnic on the second workshop day remembered that:

“..they produced an extraordinary array of tupperware..I suppose I’m drawing on things that I think of as recognisably stereotypically female like the relationship with food and things like that. I wonder if I paid more attention to the detail of what was going on because I was a woman..” (Nora: 10598 B: 460)

And Laura during the second interview, referred to stereotyping when she considered why so few men had taken part in the project:

“I felt there are stereotypes of whether men are in tune to this sort of feelings... for men, perhaps...this is very concrete then perhaps it all gets a bit airy-fairy’.. men have some strange perceptions of what women do really, likely to be a huge load of stereotypes, you know, which are not true.” (Laura: 3598B: 2/040)

In all four participants however, the use of the term stereotype would seem to be a means to convey a picture of gender relations, that I as the interviewer, would readily perceive. Such an assumption does not seem surprising, coming as it does in the final interview, when the participants not only knew me sufficiently to be fairly sure I would understand; more importantly, it suggests that by this stage in the project a common language, however transitory, had been established. Within the common language the stereotype was essential in enabling word pictures to be created, which would facilitate commonly accepted concepts, but which would also throw the stereotypes open to negotiation - as illustrated by Laura noting the likelihood of ‘a huge load of stereotypes ... which are not true’. D.A. Kenny (1991) has called this kind of use of stereotypes within the kind of ‘sub-culture’ context that the project provided, a ‘shared meaning system’ (see also Ashmore & Longo, 1995). A system which, as I see it, allows some fine tuning and negotiation of stereotypes at a sub-cultural and personal level, and without which participants would have had difficulty establishing a basic framework of communication with the researcher. In this way, stereotypes, far from being a hindrance or uselessly negative, were a useful tool for communication.

5.2.2: Childhood stereotypes

Whether identified as stereotypes or not, participants produced a range of opinions and challenges to perceived gender differences. Yet gender stereotypes proved remarkably fixed over time: clear positions were taken, with either a distinct resistance to, or a passive acceptance of, cultural norms. This was especially marked in discussion of childhood memories. Childhood is the time during which we first perceive, interact with and lay down our operational stereotypes. Even from nine

months old infants respond differently to photographs of men and women (Brooks-Gunn & Lewis, 1981). Children are seen to demonstrate a strong identification with, and exploration of, the predominant stereotypes, from the time 'gender stability' is reached at around four to five years old onwards. By the time the child has reached 8 years old their gender stereotypes will mostly be set into adulthood and have been found thereafter to remain surprisingly fixed regardless of age and socio-cultural background (Smith et al., 1998). However, as noted above in the discussion of stereotype definition, an individual's relationship to the acceptable stereotypes remains open to negotiation in adulthood. Challenges to acceptable stereotypes can occur from within or without, and thus be re-negotiated by choice or design at different times through adult life.

5.2.2.i: Free to roam

This developmental process in relation to gender identity and landscape was observed and commented upon by the participants in various ways. In particular, areas seen most stereotypically by the three male participants were firstly, whether one played outdoors or indoors as a child, secondly, the type of games played, and thirdly, whether girls and boys played together or separately. However, the men were also least aware of the stereotypes they lived by as boys. John, in commenting on the types of games he played as a boy during the 1930s, living in London, describes almost exclusively male groups playing quite rough team games in the streets, such as 'Release', 'All Ye Winks are Coming' and 'I, Jimmy Knacker, 1,2,3'. Initially, he admits these games were for the boys, saying:

“..there was a ready supply of chaps to play and they..I don't think the girls played 'Release' with us.” (John 26398A: 080)

However, later in the same interview he fails to recognise these inherent stereotypes, stating he was unaware of differences between boys and girls in terms of how much they were free to play out. He suggests that no differences were apparent because, 'everything was so much safer and nicer then' (John 26398A: 340). In other words, if girls wanted to play out, they could, even though in fact the boys only allowed girls to join in certain activities under certain conditions:

“...I think they did sometimes play...but then we tended not to play on the triangle, [out on the street] they, we, played ‘Release’ ..in a single block of flats..in the gardens.” (John 26398A: 340)

Geoff, recalling boyhood in the 1950s and Tony, in the 1960s, also described strongly stereotypical play. Both men remembered playing exclusively in groups or gangs of boys. Geoff played alone more often, but followed physically exerting activities he had been taught by his older brother, cycling miles along forest paths, climbing trees and damming streams. Tony echoed a similar boyhood, except for him playing with one other boy or with a group of lads was all-important. Although in early childhood he played with another boy and the boy’s sister, the girl rarely joined in with the boys’ games apart from early sexual play:

“Erm....well...(laughs)...probably the boy mostly playing, but I do remember kind of very early...kind of passion for this..this girl which we both took part in, and I remember us kind of demonstrating that we could snog like on the movies...(laughs)...” (Tony 19398A: 060)

Tony noted that playing with other boys, especially as he grew into adolescence, represented a, ‘kind of togetherness’, that was coupled with a widening of the range of their activities as they took up long distance cycling:

“..it was kind of a big together thing really, three lads ..and sometimes somebody else, but usually the three of us and sort of a bit competitive and if I think about, you know, where we went to and school holidays and so on, fifty, sixty mile ride wasn’t unusual.” (Tony 19398A: 160)

Freedom in the landscape was strongly stereotyped for most participants. Thus, an accepted norm appeared; boys could and did roam free, for example, as Tony notes, he and his friends tended to go far and wide on their bicycles. Boys were thought to be more out and about in the landscape. In contrast, the more feminine girls were remembered as tending to play indoors, or when out to stay more local to home, continuing to play in the garden when boys, at a similar age, had started to extend their range. This phenomenon corresponds to observations made by Roger Hart (1979) in his study of children’s experience of outdoor environment and also noted

by Colin Ward (1990). Both Hart and Ward found that boys' range was generally wider and that they explored their local area more extensively than girls. P.K. Smith et al. (1998) found boys tend to play outdoors while girls play indoors, although, as Stuart Aitken (1994) points out, cultural gender stereotypes are strongly implicated as a factor in these differences of range and freedom to roam in the landscape. A stereotype, though, that is compelling and one that Kath seems to echo in her reflection:

"Boys are, if they are outside they need to be playing football or you know, something like that...girls go sit quietly under a tree..." (Kath 13598B: 360)

Kath's view was shared in part by Sue:

"..when I think back to childhood girls seemed to..sit in rooms and giggle and play silly female records and talk about clothes, I don't know if that's true but that's the way I found the world, whereas the boys you went out with, you had a great time." (Sue 8598B: 2/080)

In keeping with this general pattern of girls staying local while boys roamed free, women participants recalled that as girls their cycle rides were short. Ann, Dot and Laura all remembered cycle rides seeming long as children but in fact only being a mile or two. In their teens, cycle rides did lengthen, for example, Ann and Dot would cycle to a local village. But although as a young adult Sue had gone alone on a lengthy cycling holiday, none of the women recalled long rides even as teenagers, certainly none of the distances reported by John and Tony. Whilst some female participants recalled running free in the countryside, they were likely to remain within a defined local area. Those women who did roam out and about, and especially those who preferred or had to play with boys, called themselves 'tomboys'.

5.2.2.ii: 'Those terrible tomboys'

All the womens' discussions about playing as children demonstrated a clear and sometimes poignant awareness of the gender differences, and the need to contest stereotypic constraints and create spaces for play that were seen to represent more freedom. Boys might not notice the girls, and be even less aware of what the girls

were up to, but the girls were almost all alert to boys and boys' activities. Women as girls remembered vividly whether or not they could be included, or be allowed to compete with boys. Some women were very aware of the power relations at work between boys and girls: power relations that only slowly dawned, if at all, on the male participants as they grew into adulthood. For both Geoff and Tony, the impact of the eventual realisation of inequalities and the fact that they had existed into early adulthood in an almost exclusive male environment was rather shocking, as Geoff described his single-sex schooling:

“you simply don't get to meet other than boys unless you meet their sisters, rather curious, very strange and awful thing.....it was a male environment but the attitude of people in a school like that is one of great superiority.” (Geoff 3398A:p.4)

In contrast, the women were not only more aware of gender differences from an early age, but also with only one exception, had refused to accept the prevailing gender traditions. Several women had deliberately challenged the stereotype in their adult lives, in varying degrees and ways choosing to replace that cultural tradition with other sub-cultural stereotypes evolved from the feminist movement: points that are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Six.

For the women the gender stereotypes of childhood were more oppressive and more obvious than for the male participants, but were contested by the girls becoming 'tomboys'. Six of the nine female participants described themselves as 'tomboys' or 'tomboyish' as children.¹ This term, paradoxically is itself a well-known cultural stereotype, and serves as an example of the negotiation of cultural stereotypes within a personal context, where one stereotype is exchanged for another, which allows a greater degree of freedom from cultural constraints. Furthermore, that freedom is used in a variety of individualised ways for a range of personal reasons. Although universally being a tomboy would be indicated by dressing as a little boy, wearing shorts or trousers - a point particularly remembered by both Nora and Tess -

¹ This represents 67% of female participants who defined themselves as tomboys. By strange coincidence Betsy Levonian Morgan, (1998) reports exactly the same percentage of women, 67%

there were other indicators that varied according to the needs of the individual girl, echoing other research findings as to the stereotypical tomboy (Jones, 1999; Levonian Morgan, 1998).

For example, Laura played soldier games and go-karting with the boys, and was keen to keep in with the boys because initially as a young child she had no choices of playmates other than boys. As she grew up and the family moved house she acquired more girl friends to play with, and then found herself embarrassed if the girls saw the Lego sets or model cars she owned. Although she enjoyed the physical activity, and went on seeking outdoor-type of pursuits as a teenager, her tomboyishness fulfilled only a part of her general sense of finding a place in the world as a girl. She never lost sight of herself as female but rejected what she called the 'girlie girl' stereotypes, instead choosing to explore her local landscape in highly physical, tactile play, only possible she discovered, by playing with her brother and his friends. As she went through her teenage years she moved from overtly tomboyish play into exploring the landscape through the medium of art, and thereby shifted into what she regards as a very male art world. Yet, she was determined to contest cultural stereotypes and negotiate her own relationships with landscape and gender, and ignore the stereotypical references to her type of work. Even though paradoxically she chooses to paint impressionistic pictures of flowers, and so again falls into another cultural stereotype echoed by another female participant Ruth, that of women having an affinity with flowers. Thus Laura's path from tomboy child to adult artist is an example of a huge amount of negotiation between culture and self at the level of stereotype. Yet, she cheerfully describes herself as a tomboy child, and until she is questioned in more detail as to what tomboy meant to her personally, as interviewer I had an instant stereotype in my mind's eye.

In contrast Sue's tomboyishness was both more desperate and more extreme, and she felt she suffered deeply when she was forced to move into the female world as a teenager. As with Laura, Sue had only her brothers and their friends to play with, but unlike Laura, she longed to be a boy, and was convinced for a long time

defined themselves as tomboys, in her study of tomboyishness across three generations of 521 US

that she would become a boy and go to a boys' school. She described her childhood as the only girl in a family of boys, playing with boys as:

"..just surrounded by boys until I went to grammar school...I just had no truck with girls really...grammar school and little girls yugh! what a shock, horrible...[whereas playing with the boys]..we were incredibly physical with each other, we'd have all these little tussly fights and stuff which I really enjoyed.....then you get into this girls' world, where you're supposed to look pretty and learn about kissing" (Sue 19398A: 100-120)

Tomboy to Sue meant finding a whole world of play and expression where she could maintain a happy illusion of maleness, and satisfy her enjoyment of strongly physical games. Sue, seemingly, was content to conform with the stereotype of tomboy; boyish, physical, playfighting, and she did little to contest the image, since it suited her. As a teenager, ignored by the boys she once played with, she sought to find the tomboy adventures in sailing where she said she: 'could just be me and not worry about this silly girl business' (Sue 19398A: 320) In other words the tomboy represented freedom to be herself, when to have conformed with the cultural stereotype of girls looking pretty and so on, would have meant a loss of self. Carol, who defined herself a 'terrible tomboy' as a child, also found the tomboy image served a purpose, enabling her to go out and play with boys and girls, and go on trips with her father and brother in the mountains. Within the tomboy persona, however, Carol appeared keenly aware of the differences between her behaviour and that of boys:

"I didn't smash things up, I made things...but I wouldn't, I didn't wantonly destruct...only boys in the neighbourhood did...I couldn't" (Carol 6598B: 400)

For Carol, tomboy was not a means to act out her need to be male. For example, she did not remember wanting to be a boy and mimicking the perceived aggressive power of the male. It was with Carol a way of resisting more oppressive gender stereotypes that curtailed her freedom as a person. She longed to be unencumbered by either a male or female label.

college women aged from 17 - 65+.

The most dominant stereotypes that arose in memories of childhood were set around dress and clothing, noted by eight out of the nine women and one of the three men. Dress most clearly defined gender, in that girls wear dresses while boys wear trousers or shorts, and was consequently the simplest way of contesting the stereotype as demonstrated by six of the women. This emphasis on dress as the most basic stereotype used when identifying gender in childhood, calls on the visual sense and with that the performative aspect of gender (Butler, 1990). There is an immediacy in the visual that lends itself to stereotyping. As I mentioned above, for some female participants how they dressed was the primary expression of their tomboyishness. For Nora and Tess, whether they wore boys' trousers or girls' dresses would seem an act of gender performance that varied according to social context and norms. Neither felt their tomboyishness was an act of defiance against oppressive family regimes, and neither came from male-dominated families. Indeed, their playmates were most often girls. They both delighted to dress up in boys clothes and thereby be tomboys. In Nora's case her sisters and other friends - all girls bar one boy - tomboyish games included playing 'cowboys and Indians', whereas Tess played with toy guns whenever she played with the boy from next door. Tess, in particular, recalled quite specific gendered games at school, as she said:

"I never saw boys skipping. I mean, some games were girls' games, some games you could play whoever, there were these ones you used to play in the street like everyone playing.. statues and that kind of thing, you could play with boys and girls. I think probably at school it was more segregated where the lads played 'cowboys and Indians' and the girls played 'fairies and witches'.."

(Tess: 30398A/060)

Nora and Tess both reported shifting between the little girl stereotype, which they recognised by wearing and enjoying dresses, and the tomboy. Tess again:

"Most of the time I wasn't that keen on dolls, but I liked .. dolls and dolls' dresses, I mean there were sort of girlie bits and boys bits mixed, so I wouldn't have said there was particularly pressured or.....I had guns to play with....I loved water pistols." (Tess 10598B 2/060)

Tomboyishness for these participants would seem a complex mix of cultural, sub-cultural and personal stereotyping, performed, enacted, and played for a range of diverse reasons. Self-defined tomboy participants seemed mostly to fit the tomboy 'norm' (Plumb & Cowan, 1984; Levonian Morgan, 1998): where the tomboyish girl is not necessarily 'hating girl's stuff' but rather prepared to engage at different times with either stereotypical girls' or stereotypical boys' behaviour. For example, if in tomboy mode, and especially if having to play with boys because of lack of girl playmates, Kath, Sue, Laura and Tess recalled having rough-and-tumble playfights, and playing with boy's toys. Yet, Tess and Nora were also content when the occasion arose to be little girls, with Tess playing with dolls and happy to join in girl's games like skipping at school. At adolescence some women like Sue and Laura, found having to enter the world of stereotypical young girls very hard and never fully accepted, for others such as Tess, Nora, Kath and Carol the transition was less problematic.

Owain Jones (1999) suggests the adoption of tomboyishness by girls is often referred to by adults 'affectionately and positively', being seen, particularly in rural areas, as the girl enjoying an 'idyllic' childhood playing out in nature and immersed in the imagined innocence of the rural outdoors. This is a childhood idyll where, Jones notes, maleness is the 'natural gender of childhood,' and where in stark contrast, little boys who enjoy 'girl's games' are called 'sissies': an entirely negative label (1999:117-118). Negative connotations might explain why none of the three male participants mentioned 'sissy boys', but then they did not talk about tomboy girls either, and none of the women referred to sissy boys. Instead their complaints were almost universally of over-aggressive boys. For girls perhaps, tomboyishness represents a strategic and necessary fluidity within fixed gender identities, a strategy that was reported as dispensed with, mostly at the onset of adolescence. Although, as adults, all the tomboy participants felt that they continued in various ways to contest and negotiate accepted cultural gender stereotypes.

5.2.3: Stereotypes of work and play in landscape

Landscape is an arena within which the complexities of gender identity can be performed or enacted, not only in childhood, as I have discussed above, but also in adulthood. Physical activities, which spanned childhood to present day adulthood, either as work or recreation, were described by both female and male participants as an important area of expression of gender and gender-landscape stereotypes. Thus, games, activities and adventure in landscape were frequent expressions of cultural gender stereotypes in relation to landscape. References made by male and female participants to the kinds of games played as children and the kinds of activities as adults, indicated the sort of physical relationship the individual had with the landscape. Physical contact with landscape assumes greater significance when recognising the importance of the tactile sense in childhood, and as an adult. As children or as adults, whether male or female, to go out and touch the landscape involves testing the body in the physical world. As I discuss in more detail in Chapter Seven, the body is continually, through the processes of total sensory perception, informing the subjective experience of Self and Other (Ingold, 2000). The effect of this process, I suggest, draws out an immediacy of relationship with Other/landscape, perhaps most vividly in childhood when awareness of sensory experience is frequently heightened, possibly as part of developmental processes. Within these processes there are, inevitably, issues of gender roles and gender differences in relation to play and activity in landscape, and thus an individual from early childhood is developing relationship to cultural gender stereotypes.

Although childhood memories of play in landscape tended to refer directly to a range of predominantly physical games and activities, participants talked in stereotypic terms of adult jobs. As children all participants, with the exception of Kath, aged nineteen, recalled that women, especially their mothers, stayed in and were housewives. Domestic work was as Ann and John suggested the 'normal female thing'. Ironically, out of all the participants, only one woman had chosen to stay as a housewife in adult life, which might suggest this stereotype to be unusually fixed given the relative changes in opportunities for women across the age range of the group. As for male gendered work Ruth referred to farmers, gamekeepers,

agricultural workers as always male, and thought that only men would want to drive 'JCBs'. She noted that men are the ones with the guns out hunting or the ones in 'bloody cloth caps' doing the hare coursing and badger baiting (Ruth: 6398A/180). Ann saw garage work and woodwork as a man's job, though, paradoxically, as a child her father had been happy to let her play on his woodwork bench, and she saw herself as different from those women who could not change an electric plug. She would, she said, grab the screwdriver and get on with the job herself. Carol felt the world of making things she had entered as a theatre set designer was definitely a male one. Men did the making, they used the tools and made the models, and she along with Nora pointed out a classic gender stereotype that occurred during the workshops when the only true tool/artefact made in the model-making was by one of the men, Tony and his bullroarer. John associated his army days with men, out climbing mountains, swimming, deeply entrenched in a highly physical, male world, where a woman's role was either as mother or girlfriend.

Geoff seems to sum up the issues, as we see below in this excerpt from the first interview. Earlier in the interview he was adamant that in his childhood girls would be excluded from climbing trees. In this extract below he extends this stereotype into adulthood when thinking about women working in traditionally male preserves such as coppicing and forestry, but as he suggests, stereotypic gender roles are not clearcut issues:

Geoff: ...if somebody was on a par, then they would probably take the view that that person should be employed regardless of whether it was a man or a woman. In many places they would doubt the capacity of the physical strength of a woman I think.. ermm.. to use the tools that, like chain saws and so on, and that would be at issue as it were, and also just the, you know, the sort of ..there is that great backlog or whatever of tradition. Men have done the men things .. and made charcoal and things like that and cut things down and that's men's work and I think that still holds very good..."

A: "Is it physical strength do you think that seems to be the main difference?"

Geoff: That would be... That's what [] would [be] pick[ed] out.....but I think it would be something deeper than that, because you know it would just be not traditional, not the thing, not the place you know ..a lot of people... would be very amazed... like many professions that women now do that were totally

outrageous when they started like bus driving and lorry driving, things like that, people you know at first lorry drivers and things...people were completely taken aback. (Geoff: 3398A/9)

Thus, although Geoff said he had no problem with women doing 'men's jobs' he was acutely aware that for others traditional gender stereotypes were relevant, and do affect the type of work seen as appropriate for men and women.

Attitudes to landscape such as environmental issues and concerns were also felt by some participants to be highly gendered. Nora was convinced that women 'interacted' with the landscape much more than men, who, she felt, did not notice their impact on environment, and along with Ruth, Carol and Laura, Nora thought that men just wanted to mess landscape up. This view was echoed by Kath, to a certain extent. Kath and Dot both felt that men could be having deep poetic feelings in landscape just as much as women, and that the stereotypes were more blurred in this area of attitudes to the land. This view was also upheld by Tony, who described moving from his youth, as a stereotypical sport-orientated male, into his middle-age taking part in an alternative cultural stereotype, that of a men's group connecting spiritually with landscape. There also tended to be more abstract references to landscape than those in reference to gender, which I shall discuss in the next section in terms of mythologising of landscape.

By adulthood most participants seemed to have developed basic constructs of perceived cultural gender stereotypes about men and women's activities in landscape. Although these stereotypes were contested and challenged to a certain extent, as adults no one had radically modified their perceived set of gender stereotypes. As I discuss in Chapter Six, however, participants' relationship to perceived gender stereotypes did move and change across time, place and circumstance.

5.2.4: Stereotyped models: gender in the workshops

Gender stereotypes emerged when participants were engaged in the landscape modelling process during the practical workshops, mostly during feedback sessions

but also in comments recorded while the sessions were in progress. Reflections on workshops during the final interviews also revealed use of stereotypes. However, reference to gender stereotypes in connection to the modelling and materials proved to be the exception in comparison to the amount of stereotypes that emerged during interview sessions where for example people recalled childhood memories. Gender stereotypes in the modelling were more likely to be expressed in *relational* terms and/or as acts of self-definition. For this reason I have chosen to discuss gender and modelling in the following chapter, as part of exploring relationships to perceived cultural gender differences and self-definition. (see Chapter Six: Section 6.2.3).

5.2.5: Stereotyped landscape: male, female or neuter

Is landscape seen as he, she or it? Denis Cosgrove (1993) notes the traditional mythic gendering of landscape; gardens as female and urban areas as male and wilderness as neutral. Kenneth Olwig (1993) also sets out similar, traditional, classical gendering of landscape, citing as an example Virgil's pastoral poem, 'The Georgics'. Here seasonal fecundity and landform symbolically melds into the Mother Earth in opposition to the fertilising rains and sunshine of the symbolic Father Air. However, in the research group only Ruth felt the landscape itself was gendered, feeling non-urban countryside were female and urban landscapes were male:

“..certainly since my teens I've been aware of seeing macro-landscapes, especially hills very much as kind of female, always thought that, I've had fantasies of my whole body being like an enormous landscape, like I'm flying over it like bird of something kind of looking down on it and seeing hills and valleys....” (Ruth: 8598B/2/160)

Landscape as female echoes the essentialist stereotype of a female nature / landscape debated in both ecofeminist and landscape perception literature (Kolodny, 1975; Daly, 1978; Griffin, 1978; Carlassare, 1994; Merchant, 1980,1996). Yet, this stereotype was not widespread in this group of participants. Indeed for Carol the appeal of landscape was that it represented a place of neutrality for her, as she explained:

“I think it’s now one of the places where I can go where I’m absolved of everything, as it were I don’t have to be anything and that also includes I don’t have to be all those constraining configurations of being female either.... I’m definitely not saying that because I’m female I have a particular relationship to the land, I’m almost saying the opposite, it’s the land allows me a sort of freedom that I don’t get in social relations and it’s wonderful; I’d go mad without it...” (Carol 6598B/ 2/040)

Sue also felt quite strongly that landscape, for her, was not a gendered entity:

“I haven’t, you see, I haven’t reflected on it.*(laughs)*...I don’t know..I have trouble with the stereotypes. I mean what is male or female in the landscape anyway? Is there such a thing? Do I believe there’s such a thing? Ermm, while I could answer you as if I thought those things were true, I might not think they were truedo you think landscape’s male or female?....I just think it’s space to, to explore who I may be...” (Sue: 8598B/2/060)

Sue and Carol were not alone in feeling landscape was not gendered or ‘neutral’. For the majority of the participants landscape as an entity carried no gender, even though paradoxically it mirrored so many projections, and is the focus of much gender stereotyping in the intersections of age, work, gender identity and in the activities taking place within landscape. Such a lack of associating gender with landscape is perhaps remarkable given the stereotyping of so many aspects of people’s lives in relation to gender identity. Perhaps, unless landscape is gendered for an individual as part of a religious, spiritual, or cultural belief system, gender stereotypes of landscape are irrelevant. If anything, in clear contrast to the many classic or religious texts found in literature, in this group the stereotype was of an un-gendered landscape. Furthermore, like Sue, most participants had not appeared consciously to consider landscape as gendered. However, as I shall discuss in the next chapter from a relational perspective, aspects of gender did emerge in people’s reflections about, and models of, landscape. Participants as adults conceptualised observations about activities and behaviours, and appeared to have moved from childhood’s predominant awareness of sensory impressions to an adult’s more abstract, mental realm. Although, in childhood and as adults, they described the power of the fantasy and myth in relation to landscape. As adults participants often expressed aesthetic appreciation of landscape, but also many drew on mythic, spiritual or historical connections which they felt had informed their perception of

landscape since childhood: it is at this edge of landscape perception where the mythologising of landscape arises.

5.3: The presence of myth

When does stereotype transform to myth and vice versa? In the material concerned with landscape perception there is evidence that a fixed convention or stereotype of an image, concept, or sensory experience is on occasion transformed into myth or fantasy, likewise the myth or fantasy becomes the stereotype. These kind of transformations are described in various landscape perception literatures, as for example, in the debates on what constitutes 'quintessential Englishness'; and 'Classical' ideas that moulded and influenced the creation of the stereotype of 'quintessential' English landscapes (Daniels, 1991; Lowenthal, 1991; Cosgrove, 1993).

In this section I am concerned with the presence and type of myths that emerged from participants' reflections on landscape. A rich vein of myth, intricately woven from the interaction between culture and individuals, and drawn from childhood and adult recollections, is held within the experience and memory of landscape. As participants reflected upon their relationship and history with local landscape it was possible to trace the ways in which they interacted with cultural myths, and re-worked certain themes to produce unique stories. A process that, similar to the inculcation of gender stereotypes, appears to begin in very early childhood and continues throughout adult life. Firstly, I define the terms 'myth' and 'memory', and explore the relationship between these two phenomena. Secondly, I discuss the ways participants mythologised memories and experience of landscape.

5.3.1: Myth and memory

In the context of this thesis the terms 'myth' and 'memory' are used in specific ways. In this section I refer to cultural myth, which is a term I am using differently from that associated with Carl Jung and his theory of a collective unconscious. C.G.Jung, whilst not denying individualised experience, theorised that human consciousness can choose to draw upon a highly circumscribed world of

collective archetypes and symbols to express personal or collective experience, which he himself described in detail through his writings (Jung, 1927/31, 1995 ed.). Jung saw myth as a relatively fixed phenomena or 'timeless image' of patterns of thought and behaviour (Whitmont, 1983).

However, I suggest that myth, like stereotype, is open to individual interpretation and negotiation and thus choose to follow an approach to cultural myth following the principles of Winnicottian object relations. In contrast to Jungian theory, D.W.Winnicott does not determine a system of cultural symbols. He does discuss the nature and expression of the symbolic, and recognises that certain common elements or 'objects' in human experience such as mother and father are found as symbols in an individual's psyche. Winnicott's emphasis, though, is on exploring the individual's relationship to these symbols, which are often highly individualised in the course of an individual developing responses to the 'object' (mother, father, landscape, or cultural element). Thus, he refers to cultural experience almost entirely in terms of an individual *in relation to* their culture, and the mechanisms by which they use the transitional object and the potential space to mediate between inner and outer reality, between personal and cultural experience. As discussed in Chapter Two, cultural consciousness, in Winnicottian terms, manifests in the potential space between inner and outer, which is seen as a site of creative exchange and interaction (Winnicott, 1967a, 1967b)

Thus, whilst there may have been an original event or object, myth itself is a fantasy spun from that original element or event. Some myths do appear to recur in different cultures over many centuries. Particular mythic elements operating in western culture prompted Jung to create quite rigid definitions, which he then cast as archetypes. However, as noted above, rigid definitions when applied to certain aspects of human consciousness can obviate the dynamic, creative interaction that Winnicott observed was possible between Self and Other. Hence, in the context of this project I use the term 'myth' to denote an individual's fantasy about an event, a personal history, an object or symbol. The fantasy or myth may appear to be highly personal, but, in fact may carry certain elements that suggest an interaction with a

long-standing cultural myth. Thus, always the individual's use of myth is central. The individual engages with the cultural, which is then engaged with the individual and so on. From that interaction changes may arise in both the cultural realm and the individual. Myth, then is an expression of personal history and experience through story and symbol, which may draw upon essentialised cultural elements, but is emphatically not a parroting of essentialisms. The interesting outcome of the fieldwork lies not in the mere presence of essentialisms, but in the ways in which individuals appear to draw upon, interact with and modify essentialisms to produce unique expressions of their perception of landscape. All this whilst appearing to be involved in the production of new myths, or new 'takes' on old myths even within the course of the project.

Memory, is defined as simple recall, but as Simon Schama (1995) notes such simple recall never operates in a vacuum. Memory rapidly integrates into our psyche and can then become fuel for myth. Discriminating between memory and myth is notoriously difficult, the tendency is to mythologise our memories, sometimes surprisingly quickly. Within mythologised memories lie the experienced memory and the essentialised myth, and both can appear as subtle concoctions of the interaction between personal and cultural. Such a mingling is apparent in this project where themes of cultural myth and memory have emerged through the interviews and during workshops, mingled with the personal memory and the building of personal myth.

5.3.2: Arcady and the Golden Age

In describing what they thought of as landscape, participants found themselves amused and surprised at their very traditional ways of thinking about landscape. Their initial responses included: 'rolling hills', 'interlocking hills', the Lake District', 'whitewashed cottages amongst the hills'. Such images seemed to echo the Classical pastoral themes depicted by the Ancient Roman writer Virgil². His

²Virgil (70BC - 19BC) Although Virgil was a Roman farmer and died before he managed to visit Greece, he took his inspiration as a pastoral poet from the Greeks, in particular the poet Theocritus. Virgil is renowned for his pastoral scenes in his political, allegorical works, the Eclogues and the Georgics (Lyne, 1983).

writings about the pastoral idyll - exemplified by a mythic scene of shepherds lyrically piping to their sheep amidst the hills flowing with milk and honey, located in a rugged area of Greece called Arcadia - has proved an enduring Western European myth, which frequently surfaces in pastoral art, poetry, lyrics and literature over the last several centuries (Schama, 1995; Muir, 1998; Appleton, 1975; Cosgrove, 1993; Olwig, 1993). However, as participants on the project started to explore their perceptions and memories of landscape, these initial pastoral-like themes deepened and broadened. From thereon a range of themes emerged which drew on other cultural myths.

The idea of the garden and the golden age emerged strongly throughout the project. Translating through memory, childhood had apparently taken on some idyllic silvering to the mirror. For Ruth, childhood recollections of playing out in rural Cheshire in the 1950s, had turned into a tangle of myth/ memory:

“..it was like incredible freedom..a sort of, fifties stuff you know, that makes you think of black and white films of funny old cars.....I’ll tell you the nearest I’ve ever come to it... Lark Rise to Candleford³ had echoes of it for me, and Alison Uttley⁴ as well, very much like that this kind of strange like time warpy thing and the only other place I’ve ever come across that’s like that, like something in a book is going to Sark⁵..Sark was like that ..and my childhood was very much like Sark is now..err like Sark was ten, fifteen years ago yeah, it was a wonderful time warp and it was very nice.” (Ruth: 6398A/060)

Mythologising was not confined to childhood memories. As an example of the speed of the process of myth-making, during the last workshop session, the group created a myth of the golden age variety from a memory of the walk that day. On that warm, sunny afternoon we visited the Gait Barrows Nature Reserve, first wandering around the limestone pavement and then going over fields to a natural lake fed by streams that originated from beneath the pavement. John, Ruth, Tess, and Nora were

³Lark Rise to Candleford: autobiographical novel by Flora Thompson (1876-1947) in which she depicts an English rural childhood from the late 1800s into the early twentieth century.

⁴Alison Uttley (1884-1976); author of the 1940’s children’s books about ‘Little Grey Rabbit’ set in rustic English countryside. She also wrote an autobiographical account ‘A Country Child’.

⁵Sark; one of the smallest Channel Islands, inhabited but small enough to have maintained a no-car policy and still be a mostly undeveloped rural landscape.

particularly impressed by the presence of the various streams, as well as the evidence of the power of water on limestone versus the tranquillity of the lake:

John: 'the thing I liked best was the pond, you know, with the three streams flow', three little things flowing into it and the one stream flowing up (John: 11598B/020)

Ruth: 'It was lovely the spring we had the picnic by was absolutely, I find those springs like that just enchanting, 'cos you don't come across them very often, and that was wonderful...'

Tess: 'Oh absolutely!'

Ruth: 'And I remember coming towards the lake on my own and suddenly getting this shimmering going like this...'

Nora: (about her model of the lake)... 'just the glitter of the day I just wanted to take it home and the blue water...'

A: Will you look at Haweswater differently?

Nora: 'Oh yeah, thing is I didn't want to go indoors, I mean you don't want to be indoors on a day like this it's one of those things you want to stay out, it's wonderful, everything moves.....' (W/shop: 25498 B2/020-040 : 120/2)

Several other members of the group were equally impressed both by the 'magical' day and by the powerful presence of water, which as an element is present in many Western European myths (see Section 5.3.5). Such intense feelings about the day at Gait Barrows were reiterated in the final interview session when participants recalled that day as more special than the first two days. 'Absolutely wonderful' (Dot: 11598B/100), and most 'amazing', 'fantastic' (Tess: 10598B/180). Indeed John felt if he went back:

"..there would be a nostalgia about, about the...yes..because there were some very nice places, I mean that, that sandstone, not sandstone, the grey sandstone... limestone, that was marvellous, wonderful spot and there were quite a few very nice places..*(laughs)*....that er..we went to.."
(John: 11598B/300)

Such comments might not seem unusual in describing the qualities of a fairly beautiful Nature Reserve, but I suggest these impressions also represent the stuff of

myth, reflecting some idyllic, special nature of the place, more than Gait Barrows simply being of geological or biological interest. This original experience, John seems to say, will colour his possible subsequent visits with a yearning for this first walk in a spot now fantasised as ‘wonderful’. In the group’s story or myth the reality of a walk in this unique, rural area echoes themes associated with myth of the pastoral idyll, and the golden age.

Other elements of the pastoral theme emerged when some participants expressed a preference for the manageable, pastoral type of garden landscape. As Nora enthuses:

“I love my little garden, there’s nowhere I’d rather be, [than] enjoying my little garden...” (Nora: 2498A/420)

That same detailed landscape or pastoral ‘garden’ was, as Nora describes, her preferred landscape:

“The Lake District...hills, lakes...heather bracken stuff and people walking...little white houses with slatey roofs.” (Nora: 2498A/180)

Nora went on to echo the pastoral myth in her model work, making what she described as an Aeolian harp as a representation of her walk in the woods on the second workshop, a harp of the wind (see Fig 5.1). The name Aeolian refers to the Greek god of the wind who lived on his island of Aeolia, a safe pastoral haven. Thus, whether consciously or not Nora, in her modelling, uses this ancient theme to colour her unique experience in tangible form. The ‘harp’ was not, in fact, modelled like a musical harp, neither did it follow any classic design, but her construction she said, represents her sense of the wind in the trees, the sound of the birds by the use of strings tied across with beads and tassels. By then calling this Aeolian, she evokes a cultural myth, the use of which may intensify the impact of her feedback to the group members, and possibly encourage them to understand more deeply her perception of her woodland walk.

Kath and Tess expressed yearning for the comfort and safety to play and imagine - or relax and roam - that being in a garden represented, yet also as we see here they both seek out the pastoral as a quasi-wild landscape:

Kath: "...this area behind the health centre that we called Siberia because that's what it looked like in the winter....covered with snow, but kind of a big field surrounded by trees and...I'd meditate or...friends would go out and we'd frolic and play music." (Kath: 30398A/ 120)

Tess: "I suppose what I like is a not altogether wild challenging landscape' ..[On holiday in Wharfedale].. you had this little base and explored your area and.....it was just the kind of landscape I enjoy, trees, and water, and following the river.....what I particularly liked about that, was you didn't have to go far to be, sort of, to end up in the country. But, I mean, I'm not talking about wild country, I'm talking about cottages and trees, and farmland..and that kind of thing." (Tess: 30398A/180-220)

Thus, the pastoral represents safety, the known, the inhabited, the landscape that will feed and nurture. Landscapes that are closely allied to the stereotypical English garden, and diametrically opposed, as we see below, to less life-giving landscapes found in other parts of the world.

5.3.3: English gardens, Australian deserts

Nora experienced a mixture of fascinated awe when she first encountered true wilderness in Australia, as she says:

"I felt quite overwhelmed, by the wildness, and so conscious of the presence of the landscape in Australia, you know, in the Bush, one's on the edge, you're always on the edge of where people live in Australia, cos it's never very big....(laughs).....you know, at the bottom of somebody's garden you can just have nothing for two thousand kilometres which is quite likely, there can be nothing between you and Brisbane or wherever, you know, it's like a kind of vastness of it, and the mystery of it. I like, I like, I loved that, but it overawes me a bit, you know kind of, find it a bit ermm.....bit overwhelming." (Nora: 2498A/300)

In similar vein, Laura described her shock when she first went to Australia, having been used to English landscapes that were, she felt, 'very safe':

“I think when I was in Australia.... the reality of just how harsh and cruel the landscape can be.. It kind of didn’t frighten me.... that kind of changed my perceptions again really cos I’d kind of got very comfortable with the landscape, cos I had felt very much part of it, and yet there was this element of being in Australia that it was going to swallow you up if it could, you know it was not a friendly landscape to be in. ...I mean it was, it was, it was about surviving’having said that it’s absolutely beautiful, it’s absolutely, you know, it’s...the beauty of the desert is just out of this world, but there’s nothing nice about it at all, that’s going to look after you, you’re there on your own really, I’ve never been anywhere that where, that I felt had been so harsh to be in , .. you know it wasn’t going to provide water, it wasn’t going to provide shade, and that, you know that was another interesting twist for me with the landscape really.” (Laura: 16398A/320-340)

In setting the image of the safe ‘garden’ of English landscape in contrast to the ‘harshness’ and the ‘cruelty’ of the Australian desert’ Laura, in particular, evokes strains of the mythical Garden of Eden versus the casting out into the barren desert. Again, as with the example of Nora and the Aeolian harp such evocation may not be conscious, but because it taps into a well-known cultural myth it may prove a highly effective ‘shorthand’ for describing the sense or atmosphere of the experience to a listener from the same culture. The Garden of Eden theme appears in Western Europe to be closely allied to Virgil’s Arcadian pastoral idyll, or the ‘Golden Age’ myth encouraged by Ancient Greek aesthetic traditions espoused by poets such as Theocritus and Callemachus (Lyne, 1983). Many writers claim to have uncovered this idea of the Garden of Eden not only in art and literature but importantly in ideas of nationhood and cultural identity (Samuel, 1995). For example, both Stephen Daniels (1991) and David Lowenthal (1991), have suggested that quintessential English landscapes are created out of a ‘myth’ of a particular sort of ‘garden’ landscape typically Kentish gardens, or the pastoral, rolling hills of northern limestone. Denis Cosgrove (1993) suggests both the Greek and the Eden myths are:

“..so deeply rooted in the cultural unconscious of Europeans that we simply take them for granted as ways of reading our world” (Cosgrove, 1993: 299).

As a rather ironic confirmation of Cosgrove’s suggestion, one of the Americans in the group, Carol, with some amusement, recalls her first impressions of the ‘garden’ of England that ‘the English think of as landscape’:

Carol: ..somebody said, “oh, you must go out, you must see the Cotswolds, and see the Lake District,” and I duly went out and I looked at the Cotswolds and I didn’t recognise, I didn’t recognise them, I.. *(laughs)*...I looked and I tried really hard but it was nothing that I recognised as being landscape....*(laughs)*.....

A: *(laughs)*. What was it?

Carol: *(laughs)*.....Somebody’s garden.*(laughs)*...And they said, “Well, oh, go to the Lake District”, and I came to the Lake District and I thought, “Well this is sort of, nice and cute but I don’t feel anything here at all.” So I went back to London and I don’t think I left London for twelve years...’
(Carol: 8498A/240)

Landscape acts as a mirror for our cultural images. As western Europeans we hold and work with the myth of landscape as an English garden. We do not expect landscape in this country to let us down, it is a landscape that ‘cares for us’; a friendly, nurturing farmland; an Arcadia of milk and honey; a stark and harsh contrast to the Australian desert described by Laura, that we tread in fear for our lives. One wrong turn as Laura said, and ‘your skeleton is found years later’. Such a landscape is different again from the lonely places in the barren, though beautiful, deserts and mountain wildernesses of Northern America that Carol regarded as real landscapes.

Participants of both cultures may have been “simply taking for granted” their immediate cultural myths of landscape. Yet, when encouraged to explore their own memories and myths people mingled and utilised themes from known cultural myths with their personal experience and impressions. They brought out not only unique readings of landscape, but also used these evoked images as a common language, in much the same way as they used stereotypes to convey a meaning or idea.

5.3.4: Soldiers and pioneers

The complex readings of landscape touched on above suggest a profound and primal tension between the wild and the tamed, the domestic English Eden landscape versus the desert wilderness landscapes of Australia or America which evokes the myth of the casting out from Eden. As Donna Haraway (1997) reminds us, these

Judeo-Christian myths run deep in the Western psyche, and the dominant culture ensures they are self-generating should it prove convenient for certain myths to be promulgated. Yet perhaps as Sue, we are drawn to certain elements of the myth as a challenge: in her case she chooses to leave a pastoral, inhabited Eden to wander alone:

“the landscape in its pure form, unadulterated by human beings seems to me to offer endless opportunities for being and exploring and not only..the landscape but of oneself, of one’s capabilities within it...” (Sue: 8598B/2/060)

Landscape, in Sue’s world, is a place of ‘endless opportunities for being and exploring’, a challenge that has appealed to explorers and pioneers over centuries. Carol, immersed in the American pioneer myth as a child, describes her contradictory relation between a romantic desire for aloneness in the wild and a vivid fear of the wild. She feels the desire to be alone in landscape is a ‘cultural thing’, comparing herself as an American with groups of students from India:

Carol: “I do have that very American sense of being, wanting to be alone in the landscape...”

A: *“Do you think that’s a very American thing?”*

Carol : “Erm, could be anywhere but I know it’s certainly part of the culture. Some of the groups that I had up at Edinburgh would come from India and for them to be alone in a landscape was inconceivable, like being taken to one of the circles of hell, and they couldn’t understand that I would want to be alone...”

Int : *“So it’s a cultural thing?”*

Carol: “Yeah.” (Carol: 8498A/440)

She had earlier in the same interview talked about the conflict between the ‘elation’ of a wild landscape and the terror evoked by the space:

“..that sense of just vast sky and vast space and really bare rock ..it all sounds very pretty but also as a child it was also very frightening because they were just so big, these mountains....sometimes frightened by the space, sometimes

completely elated by it, absolutely, and sometimes in the, in the woods, the forests, again delighted and other times terrified....” (Carol: 8498A/020)

Such unease with wilderness landscapes has proved potent fuel for pioneers through the ages to transform the wild into the pastoral. There would seem a fundamental element at work exemplified by the myths around wilderness and the myths of the pioneer. Sue and Carol can retain this tension of yearning versus fear, even though they are from different cultures, though both cushioned by the same civilisation that has dramatically tamed huge expanses of wilderness. Carol calls quite directly on the myth of the pioneering American in the wilderness. Roderick Nash (1967) describes this myth in his interpretation of the European pioneers as they travelled across, what they choose to term, the ‘wilderness’ of newly discovered North America. Nash argues that wilderness is seen as a state of the world before Christianity, a pagan and frequently terrifying world of wild beasts, untamed forests, uncharted lands where supernatural forms and forces abound. Western pioneers in these places have traditionally seen themselves as able to withstand or tame these forces, to conquer and take control, to Christianise, to establish Westerners as centre. Wilderness as romantic myth, a place to experience the pre-historic, pre-human world, only appears to have taken root in the Western imagination in the nineteenth century. Ironically, by this time most true wilderness areas had been tamed in the Western world of Europe and North America. I suggest that the pioneering myth meets a need to be reminded of the strength of humankind to overcome the dangers of wilderness. This need is echoed by participants when they talk about how they enjoyed playing the game of potential omnipotence afforded by being a human alone, by choice, in a landscape that they can leave and return to at will, and thus have effectively conquered through this power of choice.

In further explorations of their landscape memories, participants not only drew upon the pioneer myth to describe their perception of landscape, but also brought out a closely allied theme of landscape as arena for adventure: a place to pit one’s strength against. Adventure was not confined to the men, contrary to common gender stereotypes (Bristow, 1991; Dawson, 1994). Several women remembered adventuring in landscape, as Sue below recalled as a child:

“I was always waiting for the fantastic adventure to happen...I joined the sailing club....and it was like the adventure story, the Viking bit, imaginary in my head. I mean all it was was sailing on the gravel pit ..”
(Sue: 19398A/060-080)

Here we see the adventuring is tempered by the knowledge that Sue remains safe: just ‘sailing on the gravel pit’. Yet, her use of an old myth, the ‘Viking’ adventurer in the landscape, allows her to intensify and bring adventure to life, in what was, in fact, a fairly mundane environment. The same use of myth emerges, during the first interview with John, in an admittedly more bloodthirsty account of war games in landscape. In recalling his playing mutineer soldiers in Epping Forest as a boy during WW2, John says:

“..we formed a gang three of us, called the ‘Pithorns’, based on the ‘Mutiny of the Bounty’, and Pitcairn Island and we had all kinds of mottos like. ‘Pithorns never falter or Pithorns pay the price’... and we used to go running through the Forest and no matter what we came across we went straight through it; brambles, we used to have our legs torn and bleeding, and then we’d come to a brook and where we’d touched the brook, it might be really be too wide to jump, but we would jump it, and sometimes land in the water because “Pithorns never falter,” and so on, oh we were mad but it was great fun. I really loved my early life, and the war was smashing for a young kid, you know. I mean we used to go up and watch the..dogfights overhead, and collect shrapnel...it was a delight..*(laughs)*....couldn’t have been better, and then of course [I joined] the Army too....” (John: 26398A/140)

A war situation is made manageable, even ‘a delight’ by imagination and play. The adventurer myth is plundered to furnish his memories of a ‘smashing war’. Yet, in the workshop, John, now in his seventies, modelled some of his landscape experiences almost entirely as that of one in the tamed pastoral. In John this theme comes full circle: the adventuring, the wrenching of wild to pastoral is complete. He can reign over his territory at last, but as I note in Chapter Seven, the final phase of old age and losing power is also very much present in John’s rendering of his world.

In her study of landscape and the army Rachel Woodward (1998) has succinctly outlined this potent adventuring/army myth in terms of ‘landscape makes a man of you’. Her findings suggested that while the landscape is seen as an icon of

nationhood, a pastoral homeland to be defended, the actual relationship of army and landscape seems to be more a classic 'boys' own' adventure. Certainly, in her study landscape perception was strongly gendered: perhaps this is not remarkable given her study is confined to the still largely male-dominated army. Participants, however, in the course of this project demonstrated that women as well as men are open to the same adventurer myth, and that men and women can use the myth with equal facility and imagination. Approaching landscape as a arena for proving strength and ability to face challenges, and as a place of playfighting or real war, did not however preclude the landscape, in other contexts and at other times, as a source of inspiration in very different ways. Moreover, the same people who used landscape as a backdrop for fantasies of war or pioneering were just as capable of experiencing landscape as profound, spiritual or aesthetic as those participants who had never enacted warrior fantasies, but had perceived landscape as a place to go specifically for, as Tess said, a 'spiritual experience'.

5.3.5: On sacred groves, trees, springs and limestone

Landscape as a source of inspiration did not emerge until the end of the second workshop, and only fully surfaced in the final interview, when various participants admitted to experiencing the presence of the sacred and the symbolic in the landscape. Tess described her experience in landscape as frequently encountering a 'numinous' quality. By 'numinous' she was referring to an infusion of sacred/magical/intangible feelings (depending on personal beliefs) ascribed to a place or objects in a place. The sense of the numinous or spiritual was often referred to as embodied or symbolised by particular features in landscape. The commonest was the tree (see Chapter Seven). Trees were mentioned by every participant, without exception, as significant. Participants, male and female alike, had fond memories of a particular tree, or felt a great affinity to woodland, or like Ann and Tess had gone to considerable lengths to ensure they lived near trees as adults.

Tess: "So long as I can see trees as I look out the window I'm fine.....trees are something that I have to have...Being under a tree with some stream or something like that, or, you know, I can understand how a grove of trees is sort of numinousI know it's sort of ideal sort of.....produced from childhood reading I think is an ideal picture of yourself lying face down, with

a, with a good book, in an orchard. It's you know, straight out of C.S.Lewis⁶ and all kinds of stuff like that I suppose trees are just evidence of things growing, and my connection to the world and everything, and, whole connection to life really I suppose" (Tess: 30398A/460)

Ann: "it.. [the wood]..was this that made me choose this. Definitely the wood at the back."

A: .. *"What is it about the trees?"*

Ann :. "Just love them.....The shade, aw, I don't know what it is...In summer it's cool, and it's all, now we can see all the way through. Come summer then it's a solid block of all shades of green, just like them, don't know why, I just like them, I'm even fascinated if I'm travelling by train, or car for that matter but mostly train when you're gazing around, that even in winter they've got a shape to them, and they've got colour, it's colour as much as anything. I'd hate to sit, with nothing more than stone walls to look out on, I'd hate that nothing worse." (Ann: 3498A/340)

Tess and Nora had affectionate memories of a particular tree from childhood:

Tess: "...perhaps it's a bit silly to say it but there was a big tree in the park ..., big willow tree that ermm.I suppose like a lot of people you get kind of sentimentally attached to distinctive trees so that was , that was my tree in the park...." (Tess: 30398A/320)

Nora: "And right at the bottom there was a chestnut tree, beautiful chestnut tree, and .. I used to climb that..." (Nora: 2498A/100)

Geoff had stronger memories of the forest that he played in and the trees he climbed as a boy, than of his mother. He said he often enjoyed re-visiting these childhood scenes in his mind. Kath's immediate recall of childhood landscapes included a mango tree which she regarded as a significant landmark.

The importance of trees in landscape suggests the tree represents a comfortable and stable presence, offering not only shade in summer but providing, depending on cultural roots, a place to play, an atmosphere of fantasy and adventure, or the backdrop to the garden idyll of the English landscape (Rival, 1998). Oliver Rackham (1976) points out how vital trees have been in Britain over

⁶C. S. Lewis, author, whose works include seven children's adventure stories about a mythical land

thousands of years, reminding us of the agelessness that trees represent, as well as the importance of the wood products and shelter they provide. Mircea Eliade (1957/1987) notes that in many cultures trees and stones, amongst other elements in the landscape, are traditionally invested with the sacred. Trees symbolise the connection between ‘heaven and earth’ as the *axis mundi* or universal column or pillar, with roots in the earth and branches reaching into the sky. In acknowledging how vital trees have been historically both as essential providers of fuel and shelter, and as powerful sacred symbols, it is not surprising to find that trees assume such significance for individuals and are readily mythologised culturally.

As noted in Section 5.3.2, water was another charged element of landscape, referred to by several participants as having numinous or magical properties. In particular, the spring which the group visited on the final day of the workshops excited these kind of associations. For Tess the spring with the water and tree formed a deeply ‘numinous’ image:

“Gaitsbarrow [*sic*].. you came on the pond, I mean that was fantastic, it was just, just like a sort of pond where the cattle comes to drink but it was, you know, the tree, a little trickle spring there bubbling up, I mean that is very numinous, having a spring bubbling up..... there’s spiritual values bound up in sort of certain types of landscape..” (Tess:10598B/180-200)

Ruth expressed similar feelings, amplified in her description by the contrast between feeling:

“exposed by all that openness [going across the fields], you know on a deeply sort of primeval kind of level....the spring was very special....we don’t come across...springs very often do we? There’s something so magical about them.” (Ruth: 8598B/500)

Integral to the elements of water and wood came a combination of stone and earth in the form of sacred grove or grotto, which emerged unexpectedly in people’s modelling work. During the second workshop, Tony had modelled a grotto-like construction in response to his experience of the walk in the woodland. Various

called Narnia, the best known of the series is ‘The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe (1950).

members of the group called his construction a 'sniff cave', where he had placed leaves and bark inside the clay 'cave' for people to 'enter and sniff' and experience the essence of the forest floor. As a corollary to this grotto or cave Tess created a model during the sand and water session on the final workshop day, which Nora reacted to with "Oh, look, the sacred grove" (see Fig 5.2). On the same day the group went onto the limestone pavement, where Tess experienced strange tree shapes in the dark coloured limestone that she felt curiously resembled her earlier model of the grove.

Landscape has served as a repository for religious, magico-spiritual beliefs over many centuries (Cosgrove, 1993; Eliade, 1957/1987; Tilley, 1994; Schama, 1995). Certain elements within landscape - trees, water, rock - have been drawn upon in literature, art and oral myth and history as reflections of the numinous. People are known to have traditionally associated particular places such as springs and woodland groves with the magical and the spiritual, creating shrines to deities and various sacred entities in these places (Morphy, 1995; Bord & Bord, 1995). To find that these qualities in landscape continue to be powerful in Britain in the late twentieth century suggest that individuals are capable of tapping into ancient continuities.

5.4: Conclusion

In response to a request for a first recall or impression about landscape and self, in work, play or other various activities, participants tended initially to present a gender stereotype or cultural myth. The use of gender stereotypes or myths was marked in participants' recollections of their childhood, and both were equally important in adulthood. Both gender stereotypes and cultural landscape myths would seem open to continuous re-working and fluidity. With myths, for example, I describe how people readily modified the cultural myth to their own version.

Up to adolescence participants recalled vividly their exploring and enacting of perceived gender roles, including for girls the playing out of the tomboy role. Yet at the adolescent shut-off point everyone noted how they had to leave the world of

playing with different gender stereotypes and come to terms with, or learn to live with, their sexual identity. Participants showed how as adults they can, if they choose, continue to sink their individuality without a trace into a sea of apparent compliance with gender stereotypes, playing out the cultural mores as required in whatever company. But equally, as Rapport (1995) notes in his concept of the stereotype as map reference, there is a continuum of opportunity for people to contest and negotiate cultural stereotypes, as I go on to demonstrate in the next chapter.

In the course of the project participants gradually became more and more prepared to journey through and around deeper reflections on their relationship to landscape. Discussions began with responses to landscape which echoed quite superficial stereotypic images, yet ended with people keen to share sometimes profound and deeply personal experiences of landscape, which called on some very ancient and fundamental elements of cultural myth, as in the sacred, numinous themes described in the last section. Yet, particularly with gender issues there was evidence of a complicated relationship with stereotypes. To gain insights into the effect of gender on the perception of landscape it is necessary to explore the nature of, and processes involved in the relationship of participants to stereotypes and myths. All levels of an individual's identity may function as powerful influences in the relation of themselves and local landscape, which have a profound, and largely covert effect how much we feel we belong to a place, and the kinds of activities we engage in there. Having established the ways stereotypes and myths appeared and were worked with I go on to explore, in the following chapter, the processes of relationship between participants and gender issues.

Fig 5.1: Nora's 'aeolian harp' on Day 2



Fig 5.2: Tess's sandplay model on Day 3 which Nora saw as a 'sacred grove'.



Chapter Six: Multiple meanings: reflections on gender

6.1: Introduction

Having seen how gender stereotypes are engaged with and drawn upon in the course of participants' descriptions, memories and reflections, I now examine the processes by which stereotypes or 'bounds' of gender were related to, and how gender identity appears to be developed and negotiated. In this chapter I look at the ongoing processes involved in the relationship between people and issues of gender identity and perceptions of gender difference. Throughout the chapter I draw on the transcripts of individual interviews and group feedback sessions, including preferences and engagement to the modelling process and materials, as well as video observations of body language during workshop exercises. In Section 6.2, I explore the processes of self-defining gender identity. Sections 6.3 and 6.4 are concerned with participants' expression of gender identity in relation to perceived gender stereotypes, whether accepted or contested. In Section 6.5, I explore the ways in which gender was expressed and emerged in the modelling process. Section 6.6 looks at some gender issues that occurred within the fieldwork.

6.2: Gender identities uncovered: processes of self definition

As I discuss in Chapter Two, the act of recognising and naming gender roles and/or identities calls on binaries and stereotypes associated with male and female, and is open to socio-cultural variation (Glover & Kaplan, 2000). Whilst the fact of gender construction is based on the binaries of gender, I suggest that an individual will develop and be engaged in an ongoing, lifelong, dynamic relationship to those binaries. As Jane Flax (1990a: 23) notes, the 'content' and 'categories' of being male or female are 'highly variable across cultures and time'. Thus, an individual's gender identity is a continuing process of self-definition (Butler, 1990). The model with which I have chosen to illustrate this relationship places an individual's perceived cultural gender stereotypes or gender conventions within a set of boundaries or 'bounds'. The concept of boundaried spaces in the psyche wherein reside perceptions, ideas, experiences and identities as constituents of 'the inner reality of

the individual' is integral to the object relations concept of a Self in relation to Other¹ (Winnicott, 1971b: 75). Observing participants' experience of gender issues suggests that gender identity can be construed as a constituent of psychic space, and thus integral to Self.² However, participants' perceived cultural gender stereotypes were *related to* in such a way as to suggest a 'boundaried' Other; a symbolic 'object' with which they had a lifelong, complex and multi-faceted continuum of relationship.³

In this section, I use the term 'inside the bounds,' to represent varying degrees of acceptance of cultural stereotypes, and thus 'to be outside the bounds' means resistance or even rejection of perceived cultural stereotypes. I regard these boundaries as permeable, and possible to be crossed and re-crossed at will. Although the boundaries may or may not always be recognised or acknowledged, at all times an individual is seen to be as much in relation to boundaries, as in relation to elements of perceived cultural stereotypes. Hence, I draw attention to the different processes involved in 'living within the bounds' as opposed to 'living outside the bounds', and that all these processes are primarily acts of self-definition of gender identity.⁴

Although each person who took part in the project cannot be slotted into a neat compartment and quantified, it is possible to describe the different ways and processes by which people appeared to relate to cultural gender identities. It is also possible to explore retrospectively how this relationship shifted at different times, ages and places in their lives. Gender identity, as with other identities, involves processes of development in which there is dynamic interplay of internal and

¹ In object relations theory the boundaries of Self are experienced as permeable, able to be traversed, yet also the Self is capable of exercising the possibility of closing off from Other.

² Robert Stoller (1968) posited that an individual's sense of gender *identity* related to their inner life, how gender felt inside, whereas gender *roles* were played out in outer life, and thus there were always potential contradictions and conflicts between the playing out and the inner sense of gender identity.

³ I use the word 'object' according to Christopher Bollas (1992). He uses 'object' to mean all manner of inanimate or animate items, including sensory experiences, memories, symbols in dreams and in waking psychic life etc., and thus capable of 'stimulating us' or being transformatory, in various ways e.g., symbolically, evocatively, sensorily etc. (1992:34)

⁴ Butler (1990:144) notes 'the injunction *to be* a given gender produces necessary failures' in other words the multiplicity of external demands and subsequent performative acts will create opportunities for a multiplicity of resistance and 'redeployments' within the context of an individual sense of gender identity at any one time.

external realities from which the self constructs and continues to create and negotiate identity (Winnicott 1960b, Young 1977, Butler, 1990). The process of negotiation is not necessarily conscious, or consciously remembered or reflected upon, unless, as in this project, space is given to trace the shifting relationship to cultural identities.

In presenting this material there must be an acknowledgement of the deeply personal experience of each individual in relation to their cultural milieu. Gender identity is I suggest, an interaction between an individual's personality, their personal belief system, their class and educational background, their life experience, and life opportunities. The net outcome of this interaction is an individual's act of self-definition, which is a unique ongoing process. Thus, in examining the life and times of each participant in relation to gender and landscape I have been constantly alert to the influence of their personality in relation to their beliefs. Personality is defined here as a complex of the whole human being which encompasses not only the notion of sense of self, constitutional and genetic make-up, but also cultural and familial influences.

The expression of relationships to different elements of people's inner and outer realities is often extraordinarily subtle and impossible fully to disentangle. In describing the different processes involved in gender construction and relation I am also aware of how difficult it is to maintain critical distance from my own prejudices and bias in relationship to gender stereotypes. Maintaining distance proved hardest at the times when people's comments, behaviour and observations were infused with cultural stereotypes to the point of self-parody. The interface between cultural norms as Other and the individual acts of self-definition as Self appeared to be complex. The discussion in this chapter is thus neither exhaustive nor necessarily exacting but rather is meant to capture perceived and observed experiences of each participant.

The processes involved in participant's relationship to gender stereotypes and their acts of self-definition were observed during interviews and workshops. For example, the nature of the relationship to gender emerged in each person's recollections, ideas and opinions as they talked about past and present experiences of

gender issues. In particular, I noted what elements of gender were remembered in the past, and/or remained important in the present; and the ways in which each person had in fact acted within and around gender roles. The combination of ideas and actions described by each individual, and contradictions between their thoughts about gender and their actions within gender roles during their life, were taken as indicators of their relationship to gender stereotypes.

People related, or had related, to issues of gender identity in various ways at different times in their lives. Several people described their childhood and adolescent awareness and acceptance of gender roles as a painful battle, re-activated on occasions during adulthood. Participants also noted times in their lives when they quietly resisted norms by life actions. Some people in the group seemed to approach gender issues as a lifelong project where more overt contestation and acts of defiance allowed them to clearly and consciously self-define or perform gender identity (Butler, 1990). Participants also reported times when they lived relatively happily within perceived cultural bounds and norms. As David Glover & Cora Kaplan (2000:2) note; “one *can* both ‘live’ a gendered identity in all its complexity, and hold its received definition at arm’s length” (author’s emphasis). The internalised processes by which participants achieved this are explored in the following sections. The conventional and contesting discourses of gender identity are considered in terms of both sets of processes being part of continuing acts of self-definition. I now explore the tensions and contradictions involved when apparently ‘living within the bounds’ of perceived cultural gender identities.

6.3: Living within the bounds

The commitment and adherence to living within the bounds varied considerably between participants. The most defined example of this process emerged from discussions with Geoff and Dot, for whom living within the bounds of perceived cultural gender roles appeared to be relatively unproblematic, with gender differences rarely questioned. Geoff professed to not expecting others to stay inside the bounds, as he perceived them. In contrast, Dot did not question either herself or others, for example her own children, staying within gender roles without

contestation. However, although Dot appeared as committed to living within the bounds of cultural femininities as Geoff was to live within cultural masculinities, she like every other participant had individualised her relationship to perceived cultural norms. Both Dot and Geoff had grown up in monocultures of girls or boys respectively, and for both of them conscious awareness of gender surfaced as they recalled this aspect of childhood. As Dot commented:

“all my memories of... when I was young are very feminine, because...all the children I played with just happened to be girls” (Dot: 11598B:220)

The ‘feminine’ memories that Dot recalls may be a construct, not only arising from the predominantly female environment of her family and playmates, through which various aspects of cultural femininities were remembered as being given particular emphasis, but also what Beverley Skeggs (1997:41) has called ‘historical legacies’. These legacies, Skeggs suggests: ‘inform the positioning of women through class, race, gender and sexuality.’ In remembering her childhood as ‘feminine’, Dot draws on a version of the ‘feminine’ as enacted through her class and racial background, and informed through expectations arising from her positioning within her particular socio-cultural and familial interactions. Dot described a childhood just prior to and during the years of WW2, which to a large extent followed gender roles and patterns consistent with Dot’s perception of her middle-class background. For example, she and her sister, before the war, although free to roam⁵ between other friends’ gardens, played traditional girl’s games very much within those gardens’ confines:

.. “they were all girls, and we played in each other’s gardens, and it was all very free and you just roamed from each other’s gardens and used each other’s swings and.....err..we had a little shed at the bottom of the garden, my sister and I, which was our house..... my father put it together, it came with sides and top, you know, and er.....yeah, we played a lot of imaginative games, and of course we didn’t go out on the road, except when the...er.....the Wall-y Man [ice cream man] .. came by..... we played house, we played weddings, we used to dress up a lot .” (Dot: 26398A/060)

⁵ Although middle-aged and older participants, in particular, talked about being ‘free to roam’, the term meant different ranges according to different individuals. Male participants tended to have

During the war Dot and her family evacuated to the countryside. She and her sister continued to roam, but with the move into a rural landscape their range widened to include local fields and farmland. At this time Dot played with both boys and girls, shifting across the 'bounds' into activities considered to be more male-identified. For example, she and her sister roamed around the local fields, mainly 'running about, climbing fences, and trees', allowed to play boy's games such as cricket if the boys needed extra numbers:

"the boys used to let us join in the cricket, we used to have cricket in the field opposite which was a, a big high, sloping field but there were places where it flattened out a bit, so they used to make wickets, and err, and make the numbers up, we were allowed to, to play occasionally.." (Dot: 26398A/260)

As she reached her teens, and went to Grammar School, playing with boys stopped and Dot's activities and lifestyle reflected accepted bounds for a girl of her class and age:

"when I went to the Grammar School from there and started, I suppose, having to leave earlier in the morning and get back later at night, then there would be homework and then it would, so rushing about the fields petered out a bit, and erm, yeah, then it got more difficult to play naturally with the boys I suppose.." (Dot: 26398A/280)

Dot reflected a particular middle-class orientated cultural femininity characterised by sedate activities, suitable for 'nice girls', who as young women, would be expected to engage in quiet pursuits, which acted to confirm 'respectable, middle-class' versions of cultural femininities (Young, 1977; Skeggs, 1997). In Dot's case, for example, as a teenager she recalled one or two memorable, but tiring, cycle rides with the family. More usually, outside of school, she would join her family listening to the radio in the evenings. On fine weekends she went for walks and picnics with the family in a local stately home parkland area. Dot chose initially to train as a nursery teacher and then gave up teaching to marry, a choice, that in the 1950s, was 'expected' of her within the constraints of her class background. Other possible careers, such as floristry, were frowned upon:

roamed further than female from a younger age, and the freedom to roam and range appeared to have

“I love playing about with flowers and I’d love to have been a florist.....but nice girls didn’t do things like that when I was young...”(Dot: 11598B/140)

Up to the 1960s to 1970s, as Skeggs (1997) notes, ‘nice’ middle-class ‘girls’ were discouraged from undertaking manual or ‘domestic service’ labour of any sort, including shop work. Such tasks were regarded as only suitable for working-class girls. Dot, therefore, by not following her interest in floristry, was acting very much within the bounds of cultural femininities informed by her particular historical legacies of class. However, as Dot herself observed, her mother had been a housewife all her life, doing all the household chores and bringing up the children unaided. Dot’s family with its working class roots emerged, post-WW2, determined to continue forging a middle-class identity. Thus Dot, by being dissuaded from shop work, and with the advantage of a grammar school background, was encouraged to do teacher training and thereby to move purposely into this perceived middle-class realm.

For Dot, ‘Mother’ dominated the household. She “was the rock we clung to”. a ‘working’ Mother, who not only maintained the household through the harsh war years, and but also was “a most essential person” in the family, particularly as Dot’s father was “a bad-tempered old curmudgeon”, largely as a result of “a difficult background” and who required careful handling (Dot:11598B/160). Dot went on herself to get married, to a man from a middle-class background, and thence followed her husband around the world as his work dictated. Her pursuits as an adult continued to reflect those same femininities which she herself had observed and grown up with. For instance, she remained very much the housewife, bringing up her children, and taking a positive decision, after her children grew up, against going back to her own career of teaching. Her husband tended to make the choices over what leisure activities they did, even though sometimes she would have preferred to do other things, as in this example below. When asked if she felt able to have got out walking as often as she would have liked, Dot replied:

become less possible for the younger generation of participants.

“not as much as I would like, ‘cos John is lazy about going out, we used to go up to Windermere regularly because we had a boat, we had a sailboat on Windermere, and err..but that did mean that every time we went to the Lake District we went to the boat, err, I would have liked to have explored a bit further...” (Dot: 26398B/480)

Thus, her own preferences remained unrealised in favour of her husband’s, notably in this instance, in the realm of outdoor activities, suggesting that ‘nice’ women do not go out ‘exploring’ the landscape, unless such exploring is sanctioned or encouraged by their husbands. Dot, for example, as a young married woman, recalled accompanying her husband on a highly strenuous, lengthy canoeing trip down the Connecticut River, which reminded her that she must have been “ever so fit in those days....I must have been really strong” (Dot: 26398A:340). But as a respectable woman Dot needed her involvement in outdoor activities sanctioned, or rendered respectable, by a man, although her physical abilities in this narrative were not questioned (Young, 1977). A point further re-reinforced when Dot noted that once her sons were grown up she was grateful to them for accompanying her on outdoor trips. Dot reflected this same version of cultural femininities during the workshops, a point to which I shall return to in the section 6.2.3 on gender and modelling.

In Geoff’s case, he appeared to have followed traditional gender roles in his childhood to a greater degree than Dot. He recalled playing with ‘mostly boys’, going to ‘all boys’ schools’, forming ‘boy’s groups’ when at home, and that the milieu of his schooldays was always that of ‘a male environment’..where ‘the attitude of the people in the school like that is one of great superiority’ (Geoff:3398A/3-4). The effect of a single-sex upbringing appeared to have provided an emphasis and reproduction of masculinities in Geoff’s childhood, similar to Dot’s version of the ‘feminine’ of her predominantly female childhood. As a child and young man, Geoff appeared to have never attempted to shift gender roles across boundaries. But, whereas Dot represents the only person in the group who, as an adult, had stayed most closely within the bounds of her perceived cultural femininities, in adulthood Geoff had questioned his relationship to constraints of cultural masculinities. He became aware:

“that I had been brought up in a very chauvinistic ..narrow-minded world’ when he found himself at a university: “that was very left-wing ..a totally mixed environment...with, as far as I recall, complete equality between the sexes” (Geoff:3398A/9)

He had chosen to work as a highly skilled and creative furniture maker, using coppice wood products and involved to some extent in that industry which has been for generations and is still, with a few exceptions, dominated by men. Within that context however, Geoff adhered to a group within the industry who supported a new generation of women workers in coppicing and allied trades. Although, he does acknowledge the prejudices that persist in his work:

“ I mean the fact [is] it’s mostly men who work in the woods, ..I mean..there’s no particular reason why it should be so as far as I’m concerned. Whether it is just the way it is. I can’t imagine for example, Witherslack Hall Estate employing a woman forester, although having said that on reflection perhaps they are more progressively minded than most Estates. So they might, of all the Estates that I can think of but I’d still be surprised..” (Geoff: 3398A/9)

Geoff was deeply opposed to the stereotypical male behaviour he observed in a particular breed of farmers and wealthy urbanites living in rural areas. He felt that their behaviour had been a factor in forcing him back to live in the city, which irked him since, as he says:

“I was born in the countryside and lived in the countryside so the countryside is more a natural habitat than the city.. I feel very negative about it because it’s also the sort of home of people quite often who I don’t like..whose politics I don’t like...it holds an enemy....an enemy, it holds Range Rovers with personalised number plates and people like that..and farmers...of a type that I don’t like...and one of the reasons that I left and ceased to live in the countryside was because it contained a lot of people that I didn’t like..” (Geoff 3398/1-2)

Geoff negotiated his relationship with cultural gender roles through his attitudes to his lifestyle and work. He did not overtly cross cultural gender boundaries in an act of self-definition, as other participants had done. Instead, he was more likely to define himself - in terms of gender - through absenting himself from participation in

perceived cultural masculinities. Although, this was hard to achieve in the face of cultural and family pressures:

“..although I rejected it its very hard not to be partly...to you know to absorb it while its being thrown at you day and night over a long period of time and it was, in a sense, the continuation of my family values...” (Geoff:3398/5)

Geoff's experience supports Robert Connell's (1995) argument that men can be as oppressed by cultural masculinities as women by cultural femininities. Eve Sedgwick (1995:12) also notes, 'when something is about masculinity, it is not always "about men"'. Connell notes that although cultural masculinities are used, and are seen to be used, to consolidate power, as part of an ongoing hegemony of the 'male', cultural conformities also constrain men in multiple and complex ways, at times causing considerable distress and confusion (Connell, 1987). Connell suggests these constraints may surface because alternative versions of masculinities are either not envisioned, or are considered unacceptable, as for example, gay masculinities ⁶ (although, in Geoff's case issues around sexuality were never discussed). This point is highlighted as Geoff attempts to escape from cultural 'compulsory' versions of masculinity that oppress him, yet he is living out and outwardly expressing those same cultural masculinities by his dress and choice of work. Geoff stays within the 'bounds' perhaps as, paradoxically, a covert escape, that will avoid overt acts of self-definition that might incite 'derision' or comment from other people (Connell, 1995). But in Geoff's thinking there is a subtle divergence and fluidity, which although difficult, is important for him to maintain; a conflict that echoes Robert Stoller (1968) who notes the potential for contradiction and conflict between the inner sense of gender identity and outward expression of gender roles:

Geoff: "...really ideally ... people's mindsets should not be mindsets at all, they should be in a constant a state of flux. I think that that is the most

⁶ Robert Connell (1995: 134-5) in his study of masculinity in a group of white Australian men, reports that an 'impasse' occurs when men try to break free of cultural masculinities, for instance in relation to emotional expression and attitudes towards women. He notes "a double bind results, with men pressed on one principle to express emotions and on another to suppress them." He also notes that homophobia plays a significant role in constraining professed heterosexual men from adopting any behaviour that might be construed as homosexual: "The project of remaking the masculine self certainly requires a good deal of willpower in the face of derision from other men, half-shared homophobia and ambivalence from feminists."

important thing..should not..the idea of being set in your ways is a, is a terrible thought, I think.”

A: You mean you don't feel you are set in your ways..?

Geoff: “Well, I know I'm quite conscious of being to an extent set in my ways, but I'm also quite conscious of changing my thinking patterns.”
(Geoff: 3398A/10)

Thus, Geoff thinks from a place that resists certain aspects of the cultural norm that offend him, and he retreats from colluding in the macho male world. Whilst Geoff and Dot both express conformity to cultural gender stereotypes through their actions, dress, and lifestyle, Dot differs from Geoff in that she is more likely to stay ‘within the bounds’ in her thinking and attitudes as well as her actions. In the next two sections I move on to other processes, that of acknowledging and managing gender differences, and moving around and across these bounds of cultural masculinities and femininities.

6.3.1: Multiple differences

Participants used the term ‘difference’ in relation to gender in various and often contradictory ways. Gender differences were sometimes dismissed as irrelevant or unimportant one moment, yet presumed significant in the next moment. This suggests firstly that gender differences are experienced as powerful, and that a marked tension exists as to whether to allow or defuse that power. For example, during the first interview Dot signified gender differences when she defined her childhood as ‘very feminine’. Yet, in the next interview she suggested that those differences were less convincing, in terms of whether her sons might experience a place differently as compared to herself:

“I can’t think that, I mean I think when my sons go out ... they sit and look for hours when they get to the top of some of these hills.....you know, they, they like walking and they like sailing and they...ermm.....I think probably they enjoy the practical physical part of it more, in a way, how can you tell, but then when it actually comes to stopping and looking..ermm....I think they’re just as all there.” (Dot:11598B/260)

Dot does concede that her sons might enjoy the 'practical physical part' of outdoor activities, yet differences in gender roles are being played out according to whether her sons are thinking or being physical. Thus, Dot's relation to gender differences appears to disrupt notions of definitive binaries, when in some situations gender differences are by no means certain or absolute. However, in this instance notions of gender binaries may still exist within the context of stereotypes, even though, as Dot demonstrates, binaries can be related to in ways that are fluid, permeable, and negotiable. Such fluidity in relation to gender differences arising from cultural stereotypes and gender binaries was observed in other participants, both male and female. Participants were all aware, to some degree, of the constraints posed by perceived differences, and the negotiations involved in expressing gender identity.

In the case of the three men in the group, Geoff, for example, was sensitive to what he described as the 'superiority' of the 'male environment' (Geoff: 3398A:p.3). In this way he shared Tony's awareness of the 'arrogance around the masculine' (Tony:5598B:420). None of the three men in the group lived unquestioningly within the remit of perceived cultural masculinities. The stereotype of men as dominant, secure in their dominance, performing perceived masculinities along specific paths is shown in all these men to be under negotiation (Connell, 1995; Berger et al.1995). In all kinds of subtle and not so subtle ways they constantly revised and reworked their relationship to gender identities that were, as they themselves indicated, constantly re-worked culturally. Observing the ways these men moved around and between gender roles revealed that Geoff was not alone in experiencing constant tensions and contradictions between an inner sense of gender identity and external/cultural expressions of gender roles and acknowledgement of gender differences. Like Geoff, both John and Tony demonstrate an ongoing negotiation and shifting around boundaries. This process of 'constant movement' around the 'bounds' of perceived cultural gender, and between inner identity and external cultural roles and differences is discussed in the next section.

6.3.2: Constant movement.

John (now in his seventies) represented someone who saw himself as mostly having lived, and living within the bounds. Yet in his actions a more complex picture emerged. When John was interviewed he initially suggested that from his point of view there was nothing to negotiate around gender identity or gender differences. He expressed surprise that there might be problems either for himself or that others would have difficulties. But the reality of gender differences seemed to belie a constant, though not entirely acknowledged negotiation, as seen in his description of adjusting gender roles as a teenager in 1941, when he learned and then taught tap dancing classes:

John: “..I did tap-dancing while she [*his sister*] did ballet.”

A: “*So that was a difference,, that you began, you noticed obviously that was..*”

John : “Yeah, I mean the kind of difference that existed there was.....that no, I mean I was the only boy in that, in the initial phase until the first concert until I performed on the stage and pretty soon there were five or six boys in the class, you know, they’d realised it was OK...”

A: “*They could do it.*”

John : “But, ermm, no it was mostly girls...” (John 11598B/420)

However, John proceeded to take over the class and ended up teaching sixty girls tap dancing, an act consistent with Robert Connell’s (1995:168) observation of hegemonic masculinity being constructed and reproduced by male teacher(s) in the class room with the “routine support” of a female group. John, as the dominant male in this instance, does not need to consciously recognise ‘differences’. In this process the more secure he feels the less he may need to concern himself with gender differences. And although John does acknowledge there were gender differences involved in this process, he was insistent that real differences in opportunities and activities were not a problem either for himself or for others at that time:

“I cannot think of anyone, any one family or any friend of mine where there was that difference in a way that I would notice you know, I didn’t really notice any..” (John 11598B:480)

He reiterates this point in the present time:

“I go swimming in the river and ... in the sea but I mean I went up in an exploratory way without my swimming costume, just to test the water with my feet , you know, and four or five girls came up and they were ready, one of them went in, you know, so they’re not, obviously girls can do the same sorts of things too, you know...there’s girls roughing it as well ermm, so it’s not too much of a problem, really.” (John: 11598B:560)

John lives within the bounds for himself, he conforms with his perception of accepted gender roles. For example, he stays within the acceptable dress code for being a man; one of the ‘necessary’ cues, that for him denotes gender differences between his sons and his daughter:

“..we haven’t treated them differently I don’t think, you know, *apart from the necessary things* that..*(laughs)*..ermm..which I can hardly identify when I think of them, I mean she had frocks on and they wore trousers.”
(John: 11598B:520) (emphasis added)

He also expects his wife to be a housewife and follow those accepted codes of gender conduct, although he concedes by the end of the interview, in this extract below, that women now do have different opportunities:

“things have changed a bit now, and more, most women I suppose do have something that occupies them during the course of the day as well as housework.” (John 11598B:2/000)

This reflects John’s ways of thinking about gender. However, as he recalls his life there appears to be a constant movement across the boundaries between conformity and contestation, albeit passive. When encouraged to reflect upon his past in the first interview, John described this process with humour and a certain pride, which suggested more awareness that he was crossing gender boundaries, than was apparent from his initial insistence that gender identity was unproblematic. For example, in his active Army service in India at the end of WW2, far from being

engaged in the usual weaponry and warriorhood of being a soldier, John first deliberately manoeuvred himself into being the instructor of handicrafts, teaching embroidery and sewing. He then became the main choreographer for the Entertainments Section. Although he got a place on the mountaineering team and was a keen swimmer, by emphasising his role in Entertainments he appeared keen to minimise contact with the harsher, more macho elements of a soldier's life:

“..I was the main choreographer, you know, for dance and so on, and, I did dance numbers myself, one of the things we did that I, I choreographed was a can-can..*(laughs)* even though we were all men, *(laughs)*..” (John 26398A:220)

The reality of army life, although echoing John's tap dancing days, differed sharply from his experience as a teenager playing war games in Epping Forest, watching the WW2 air fights overhead and collecting fallen shrapnel (as I describe in Chapter Five). The pretend male warrior world might be 'smashing for a kid' to play at, but the real world as a soldier was to be studiously avoided as a young adult (John: 26398A:140).

During the project workshops John, along with Tony, continued to demonstrate this process of tension between living within the bounds yet shifting back and forth across the boundaries. In particular some aspects of the process emerged during feedback to the materials session on Day 2 when Tony made a model 'bullroarer' out of wood and string. Tony showed his model working in front of the group. Tony's model, and his subsequent demonstrating, was perceived by the some female participants as a stereotypically male act. He was seen to have 'constructed something' and then wanted show it 'working'. As Nora pointed out:

“I think when Tony made the bullroarer, that was the, a very significant moment because he had actually chosen to make an artefact, recognisable artefact, and he was a man, and he wanted to show everybody and everybody went out to see it, and for him it was really important that it worked or not, when I tried it, it didn't work and I didn't mind.....I think maybe if I'd been a bloke, I don't know, I would have wanted to make something that made a noise, because it was like, again I wanted, I would have wanted to make

things that work. and I think women are less, or maybe I am, as a woman are less bothered about making things that work.." (Nora:10598B:420)

This expression of a version of masculinity - where men 'construct things' and then engage with other men to discuss technical issues - appeared to be compounded by John's response. He went with Tony into a quiet corner away from the women of the group to discuss the technical details and problems of the construction and its workings. In contrast however, John had spent that same session modelling in a quite different style, which was not identified by other participants as stereotypically male; if anything his model was seen as quite neutral in terms of cultural gender. He fashioned a scene of the pond near the village hall with ducks and plants and himself sitting watching the pond. This way of going about his own model, compared to his response to Tony's model (Tony was the only other man present in the group that day) suggests some ease of moving across and between the bounds of perceived stereotypical gender identity.

From Tony's perspective his model bullroarer was very much in keeping with his particular relationship to living within the bounds. Tony, in some ways similar to Geoff, had grown up: 'playing with boys more'. His was a boyhood of outdoor activity and sports, out with 'other lads'. Although he had a younger sister his experience of girls was limited, apart from some early sexual games with one girl. Indeed, he recalled that by the time he was eighteen and going to college, where he lived 'in a block...that was all men' and did a course where there was only 'three or four women out of forty or fifty men' he: 'didn't really know what women were..I was really quite frightened, I think, of them.' (Tony:19398A:200). In spite of this fear of women (which he ascribed in part to his complex early relationship to his mother), he went on to marry and saw that in certain ways he continued to live out a conventional male image. In recent years, however, he had consciously set out to explore and negotiate his relationship to cultural gender differences. Tony joined a men's group, (an echo of Geoff's all-male environment where versions of masculinities could be constructed and reproduced without reference to opposing femininities, or exposed to female environments that may prove threatening or force expressions of male hegemonic behaviour). Members of the group were committed

to exploring their relationship with nature and the natural world, and to learning a different way of being in the world that did not involve the 'arrogance..conquering and disregard characteristic of the masculine world we live in' (Tony: 5598B:420). Moreover, his presence on the project was part of his process of connecting with the creative side of himself, a side he did not immediately associate with his sense of masculinity, indeed more often seeming to regard the creative within himself as a contesting of stereotypical masculinities. For Tony the creative was in some ways a neutral territory, not masculine but markedly not placed as feminine. Yet, he saw that getting involved in the project had meant a preparedness to negotiate gender boundaries, which suggests that for him the creative was in fact never entirely neutral, but imbued to some extent by the feminine, a point to which I shall return below.

Notions of gender difference are individualised, but also vary according to whether people live within or outside the bounds, in processes of contestation. When cultural gender roles are accepted, gender differences either may not be recognised, or are dismissed as irrelevant; the effect of either process will be to maintain cultural bounds. When contesting gender roles, differences are acknowledged and at times felt to be highly relevant, resulting in either perceived differences being deliberately challenged, by ignoring differences, or they are overcome in expedient ways to reduce cultural constraints which maintained those differences. Processes of contestation are now explored in the next section.

6.4: Resisting and contesting the bounds

The most overt expression of resistance to, and/or contestation of gender boundaries in this group was found amongst the women participants. For the male participants, (who appeared, in various ways, to live predominantly within the bounds), self-defining acts that involved crossing boundaries and playing out different versions of gender roles tended to occur as defined events and to be from within the bounds towards the outside. In contrast, for many women participants self-defining acts of gender identity were in some, though not all, cases proclaimed as ongoing conscious contestations of the bounds. In some situations the individual had

placed herself outside the bounds from the start, and then crossed the boundaries from the outside to within. There appeared throughout the whole group, for both men and women, to be a gradient of contestation at work, moving from conscious expedient negotiations to active defiance of cultural norms. Both men and women often only needed to make simple adjustments to their lifestyle or expression in order to create a comfortable way of being in a gender role. There were also more extreme situations, particularly with some of the women, where they had determined to develop a lifestyle, or took on a role that set up a completely different territory outside perceived gender bounds. All participants had more or less experience of relating to perceived gender norms along this gradient of contestation at different times in their lives. In the following two sections I explore the gradient of contestation starting with acts of expediency and thence to more active resistance.

6.4.1: Negotiations and acts of expediency

Most participants recalled a conscious awareness and negotiation of gender roles from childhood, and had been engaged in this process with cultural stereotypes throughout adulthood in a variety of ways, crossing and re-crossing boundaries according to time, place and socio-cultural expectations. For women participants in particular, shifting and adjusting gender roles appeared to be an act of conscious expediency.⁷ By acts of expediency I mean ways in which opportunities were found to positively further the person's needs in any given situation, in this instance, the need to express self and individual gender identities whilst minimising external constraints on personal expression and activities. Expedient acts by women were seen particularly in relation to safety outside the home.⁸ This safety element was reported as especially relevant in childhood. But expediency was also used to ensure

⁷ I refer here to feminist theory of gender and power relations, where women are seen to actively self-define gender identity in order to gain a sense of validity in a situation of inequality (Chodorow, 1974; Lipman-Blumen, 1994; Kerfoot & Knights, 1994). Although, as I go on to discuss in the next section, the processes of self-definition observed in this group suggest the development of gender identity is highly complex, and never adequately described by binaries alone (Samuels, 1995; Lorber, 1996).

⁸ Women and safety outside the home is a factor that has been researched and debated by a number of researchers including Hille Koskela (1999), Hille Koskela & Rachel Pain (2000) who have undertaken studies of fear of violence in women in urban areas, and Burgess (1996; 1998)) who in her 1996 study of a mixed group and her 1998 study of women and the experience of fear in local forest areas, found that women were especially vulnerable to feeling afraid of walking alone.

individual freedom and opportunities, for example in order to dress as one liked, or to take part in a range of physical activities, both recreational and for work.

Tess, for example, was quite clear that she did not feel oppressed by gender stereotypes. She described being able to pick up and drop different ways of expressing her gender identity as she felt like within the bounds of her personality, and in this way had grown up with an adaptive identity, neither absolutely rejecting nor accepting cultural gender differences. In part she felt this kind of relationship to gender had been possible because there was some 'unconventional thinking' in her family, from her aunt in particular. For example, Tess and her sister were not constrained by conventional femininities of her childhood where girls had to wear frilly dresses all the time, and play quiet games indoors with dolls, avoiding roaming outdoors. Instead, Tess had the choice of dressing as a girl in some situations or being able to play out dressed in typical boy's clothes, as a 'tomboy'. These choices seemed to arise from a certain expediency, a practicality:

"I kind of like to think of myself as a tomboy and ermm, you know t-shirts and shorts, sometimes, and yet other times I wore, I enjoyed wearing frilly dresses and things so, from that point of view, I think, I think perhaps it was not so much the boy/girl thing as perhaps me mum being very protective of me, which I think she was....." (Tess: 10598B:2/040)

Thus if her mother imposed any restrictions on Tess's activities as a child and a teenager it was to protect her from the dangers of the outside, rather than to prevent her from expressing herself in terms of gender as she wanted, regardless of perceived gender roles:

"We didn't have that many.....kind of gender pressures imposed on us..... it [gender] was just a mix. I think if I felt restricted in any way, it was more really for safety, rather than being a girl. ...I would have said it was the safety angle as much as anything." (Tess: 10598B:2/080)

These kind of expediencies around dress and restrictions for safety reasons described by Tess were echoed by other women. As for example Nora, who noted that same expediency of dress as a child. She recalled that she and her sisters could play out

dressed in cowboy clothes or shorts, and play ‘tomboyishly’ with bows and arrows and on scooters. However, without question she was expected to wear dresses for other activities such as family visits, school, or going to church on a Sunday. She was also not allowed to do some things like ride her brother’s bike, or go out for walks when she was small, except with the whole family. Conversely, by her teens Nora was expected to regularly walk the dog on her own. She felt that to some extent these restrictions were because she was a girl, as well as because she was the youngest. In this way for Nora although gender roles could be crossed in some areas, there were quite clear constraints, which were imposed on her by the family. She appeared to have adapted to these expediencies, which perhaps suited Mother who had seven children to care for, and was happy to let her daughters play in whatever dress they liked within the family, and to play certain games without restriction. But, in public the conventional gender roles, where girls wore dresses and played quietly, were to be observed. Unlike some participants, who actively contested these roles from an early age Nora did not contest this pattern until she left home.

Kath, a nineteen year old American, commented on how the streets were perceived as increasingly more dangerous during the time she was brought up. She felt that changing times, and the family moving house to a new area, forced her parents to restrict her activities more than they had her brother eight years her senior:

“....my parents didn’t feel quite safe enough for me to do a lot of exploring in the area, so, any playing we did which was around our houses and playing with these kids..... I know that there’s a big difference between how freely I could play and how freely my brother did....in an eight year span.....ermm, I think mainly because of the place and the time when he was born, in certainly less than a decade my, my mother felt a lot less safe, having us play..out...err...my parents were quite protective of where we were, and how freely I played..”

(Kath: 30398A:020-080)

Even though Kath’s parents never imposed strict gender roles on her in other ways, for instance in how she dressed or her career choice, they did ‘comment’ they would have preferred her to be more ‘ladylike’. Kath recalled her mother’s despair at the

‘ripped and dirty tights’ after Kath’s playing out with the boys in the playground at school:

“I think they’ve been fairly equal , if anything it, it’s, they ...comment I should be more ladylike, should carry a purse or whatever ...in terms of like sports.... academic...and some things like that....we’re pretty equal mostly.”
(Kath: 13598B:320)

Kath had negotiated with her parent’s expectations of conventional gender roles, partly she felt as a result of changing cultural norms at the present time. As a young woman she felt that in contrast to the older participants in the project:

“I’m of an age where masculinity is kind of possibly defined a bit differently... I think they.. [older participants]..were at a point in their lives where it’s defined differently..” (Kath: 13598B:400)

Yet, in spite of changing norms Kath was expedient and negotiated to ensure her freedom to express her gender identity. But, unlike Tess, who was supported by an unconventional family to express her gender identity as she needed outside the family, Kath was having to negotiate between family values which to some extent upheld cultural gender differences, and her need to express herself. She also contended with stereotypes that threatened to impose from friends and school peers. Her ways of contestation were fairly simple. “Stereotyped definitions....I think I pretty much ignored most of that stuff.” (Kath: 13598B:340). Although the arena and direction of gendered restrictions are different the processes remain similar. To survive the stereotypes and preserve freedoms required both Kath and Tess to be flexible and diplomatic.

For the men too, notably John, the process of expediency was found in ensuring opportunities in the realm of recreational activities. John recognised that although he had no problem going to a girl’s ballet class at fourteen years old, his male peers were not so keen. They waited until he had shown it was acceptable for boys to go to dancing classes, providing it was tap dancing, which was, and

continues to be, more male-identified than ballet⁹ - particularly in this instance by the 1940s - as tap dancing was sanctioned culturally by Hollywood and the Fred Astaire phenomenon.¹⁰ But John had negotiated the bounds for himself, before other boys would follow, because expediency demanded he took action and crossed the bounds of accepted gender roles, or miss an opportunity to dance. For John, though, such expediency was found in certain quite defined situations. In contrast, as shown above, for women participants, negotiation and acts of expediency were not only found in definite and well-recalled events but were also much more a part of their way of life, a way of being in the world from early childhood.

Some participants did not always find it expedient to act out their contestations. Sometimes, as Kath seemed to say, it was an act of expediency to appear in a role, whilst not actually committed to that role inside (Stoller, 1968). At other times participants had been able to more closely live out an inner sense of gender identity, which crossed cultural bounds. Although they did not actively contest the bounds in great gestures of defiance, they did demonstrate a quiet determination to live the ways they chose without feeling obliged to accept conventional gender roles. For both Ann and Carol, and to some extent Sue, family support was an important factor in this process from childhood, whilst for Ruth, Geoff and Tony the process became more possible in adulthood.

For example, Ann and Carol had managed to negotiate gender differences as children, apparently with little or no effort, and had been able to live out shifting gender roles as required in different situations. As adults they both had continued to do as they felt, in relatively flexible ways. Both these women reported a strong relationship and identification with their fathers. This factor meant that their fathers involved them in activities or taught them skills that in the time of their childhood - 1930s to 1950s - would have been regarded as traditionally male. In Ann's case, she

⁹ Note the contestation presented by the recent film *Billy Elliot* (1999) which raises both gender and class issues in its portrayal of a working class boy, coming from a mining community with a strongly macho male tradition who defies his father by going to ballet lessons and on to a career in dance.

¹⁰ Fred Astaire (1899-1987) was a huge influence in popularising tap dance, via numerous Hollywood award winning musicals from 1933 to 1949, often with dance partner Ginger Rogers.

was an only child of older parents, and her father was very happy to let her join him in his woodwork:

“I think because I’d already been working with the pine I very early knew that wood smelt differently and that they had different grains. ...So although he [Dad] liked, - if you’re talking about sex things, gender things - although he obviously liked doing very very much woodworking things, very much male things, I was never pushed out of it, never.” (Ann:6598B: 2/100)

Her father allowing her to do the woodwork with him was considered unusual, as none of the other girls in the village were allowed at their father’s work bench, and at school gender differences were very clear cut: “the girls did cookery, the boys did woodwork” (Ann:6598B: 2/100)

In other areas of family life Ann’s father left her mother to set down the rules. For instance, her mother said how often Ann could go out in the evenings once she was sixteen and attending night school, music lessons, and also going dancing on a Saturday. However, tasks between her parents were as clear cut as at school: her mother did the dressmaking and household chores, while her father stuck firmly with the woodwork and practical, technical jobs involved in running the family’s village shop. But for Ann, the pattern of expedient and shifting gender roles had been laid down from early childhood. To this day Ann noted that: she was happier in “mixed company...‘cos you get a wider range of conversations”... than with her women friends whose: “week consists of coffee mornings here, there and everywhere and gossip shop forever” (Ann:6598B: 2/120). As she notes she lived her life resisting stereotyped gender roles as a matter of course:

“I mean I’m not the sort of person, by any means who would wait for me husband coming home to change a fuse or change a fuse if me iron wouldn’t go, and the fuse had gone I wouldn’t think anything of getting a screwdriver and changing it. I don’t go along with, ‘this job’s mine because I’m a woman and that job’s yours because you’re a fella’. I’m too practical. If something wants doing and it would normally be the man’s job but he’s out at work, then I don’t see any merit in being prevented from doing the job I was going to do.....because a woman doesn’t do that.On the other hand that might have something to do with the fact that me Dad died... when I was only eighteen, so somebody had to start doing the things that he’d always done....”
(Ann: 6598B:2/180)

For Carol, a strong relationship with her father, compounded by problematic relations with her mother resulted in her doing a lot of outdoor activities with her father and her brother. As she notes of her parental relationship: "I understood my father, we were made of the same stuff, my mother and I were not made of the same stuff." (Carol: 6598B/520). However, fishing, skiing, mountain walking were all sports, that particularly in the 1950s America of Carol's childhood, tended to be regarded as male-oriented. By contrast, women tended to stay home and look after the household, as Carol reiterated:

Carol: "My mother, her family was from Colorado, but she had not grown up there and err, she didn't go out much..*(laughs)*.. in the mountains she hid in cabins and ..*(laughs)*...and cook things and.....ermm.....

A : So that was pretty defined?

Carol : Yeah. Well this was the fifties....yeah Mom cooked the fish we caught. I mean she did go out and, and ermm, but certainly, you know, the sense of, particularly of skiing, and then of travelling in the West - which we did later - was almost always just with my father not with my mother..."
(Carol: 8498A/040)

Yet, Carol was encouraged by her mother to go out and follow her brother and father to positively resist cultural gender roles: a resistance that was supported throughout her childhood and adolescence. In part, Carol reflected, this was because of her:

"mother's desire [for Carol] not to have the sort of childhood she had, but that meant I went out and did things and that was great. She hadn't been able to do that I think it was personal experience. I think also a part of it, certainly going out with my brother and my father was so she could be alone..*(laughs)*..... you know, we'd come back and she would have rebuilt the kitchen. I mean she, she did all that sort of stuff, tore out walls and built cabinets and put in plumbing and things and I think she actually really enjoyed having that time to herself. I think that had a lot to do with it." (Carol: 8498A/540)

This reflection not only illustrates how her mother sanctioned Carol's freedom to resist cultural gender differences, but also that Carol's mother had also developed her own resistance to cultural norms, for instance in taking on plumbing and kitchen

fitting, which in the 1950s would have tended to be seen as male tasks (Skeggs, 1997). Thus, her mother's sanction is an act of expedience in that it supports her own resistance to cultural gender roles. Yet, Carol's mother's support was not consistent, and in certain matters she reverted to staying within cultural gender norms. For example, Carol was expected to do more household chores than her brother, which she said "never made any sense to me, so I never did them" while her mother stood by: "explaining 'But you're going to have to do this the rest of your life, you might get used to it now'". (Carol: 6598B/2:020). This conflict arose again at the point when Carol left home to go to university, and she found herself up against what she described as her mother's thinking, and up against "that divide" of gender difference. As Carol notes in the extract below the 'divide' seemed to have surprised her all the more because previous to the issue of university she was "never aware" of either her mother or father "making that divide" outside of the division of household chores:

"she did baulk at me going to university but that was, I'm not sure why that happened.ermm, I think probably because she, she had been prevented from, to, from going to university by her parents..ermm, so she'd sort of made her own way, and I think at the time I was going to university, I don't think she actually wanted me to leave home, and then she rather, I mean, I did go (*laughs*)..so she didn't stop me but there was a time there when she was thinking, she was certainly not sure whether or not, going and going so far away was a good idea, and that was the first time I'd come up against her thinking, "oh well I do things differently". I mean I did have to clean the house more often than my brother... (*laughs*) and various things like that, but sort of the bigger things I was never aware...erm, of making that divide, certainly not aware of my father making that divide either. (Carol: 6598B/560)

Carol's experience echoes that of some other female participants in particular ways. Firstly, the need to protect her from "going so far away", is reminiscent of the protectiveness of Tess's mother. Although, in Carol's case because of serious illness as a young adolescent, she had been forced, in convalescence, to be protected more than her contemporaries, certainly in terms of freedom to roam. However, as an older teenager, once recovered, Carol was encouraged by her mother to live independently for a while in a mountain village away from the family. In this way contradictions emerged, with Carol's mother projecting a number of her own conflicts around her relationship with cultural gender roles upon her daughter. In a similar way Kath,

Nora and Tess found themselves following certain sanctioned expediencies around gender roles. For instance, playing ‘tomboyishly’ when out of the public eye, but having to act out the current version of cultural femininities when on public display.

Secondly, although Carol was free to forge a strong bond with her father, and to engage in male dominated activities, alongside that freedom there was an expectation to maintain cultural differences. For example, as a girl, she was expected to help in the house, while her brother was never asked to do those chores. Ruth also experienced a similar inconsistency, in being expected to do more housework than her brothers, which she recalls feeling deeply resentful about:

“you weren’t allowed to wear boy clothes but you were expected to graft like a boy and you had to do the washing up as well, boys didn’t do the washing up....we had to shovel coal like the boys or pick bloody fruit like the boys, or do all the jobs on the farm like the boys, there’s no distinction made. I didn’t have the word double-standard, but I just thought, ‘this is a load of crap, really’”. (Ruth: 8598B: 2/120)

As an added contradiction in gender roles, Ruth was allowed a similar degree of freedom to roam as her brothers. As she said she was: “allowed to roam at will” (Ruth: 6398A/020), and to play similar boyish games, although, in her case, her father subjected her to strict dress codes, which as she notes in this extract below were immensely frustrating and unfair:

“I was very aware of the drawbacks of being a girl from a very early age, because my father wouldn’t allow me and my sister to wear trousers which was highly inconvenient and a bloody nuisance out in the country. Especially when I played almost continually with boys so they could see your knickers all the time, not that you cared much, but if you were going to climb a tree, you were going to climb a tree. ...I just really wanted trousers, and in the end I think my mother threatened him with leaving him or something and the..upshot was that he let us have them in the garden, we were allowed to wear shorts in the garden in the summer, but we had keep a skirt by the gate so we could put it on over our shorts, so we didn’t appear in public in our shorts. Pathetic.”

(Ruth: 8598B: 2/100)

However, Ruth is describing her mother's act of expediency in this situation, echoing other female participants, for instance Carol and Tess. In this way, these women's mothers all attempted to act expediently to open up opportunities for their daughters whenever possible. In certain areas though, mother and daughter remained caught in contradictions and negotiations around gender roles, according to the intersecting contexts of stereotypes of culture, class, time and place. At root, however, expediency and negotiation around gender seem to be essential functions to preserve individual freedoms.

6.4.2: Acts of resistance

Gender identity is considered to be an active process of negotiation and as such there can be no clear line between living within the bounds or living in a state of contestation. All the different processes described above are considered to constitute acts of self-definition. But as I point out earlier, for some people the processes of self-definition are conscious statements and expressions of the relationship to the cultural norm, whilst for others self-definition has been and remains a largely unconscious negotiation. None of the men, but several of the women, recounted ways of self-definition that were ongoing, dynamic and active. Some, but by no means all, lesbian members of the group described having actively self-defined their gender identity by consciously moving outside the bounds of dominant gender roles and expectations, into other different 'bounds' of lesbian cultural norms (Esterberg, 1996). However, overt acts of resistance were described by members of the group regardless of sexuality, class or age. Although, for some people resistance or contestation had definitely become a way of life.

Acts of resistance or contestation in this instance refer to ways of being that are consciously and deliberately acknowledged and acted upon in relation to cultural gender stereotypes. Thus, I define active resistance as an overt outward expression, and in this way such action differs from the more often covert, less outwardly acknowledged, or unconscious processes described so far. Although, in accordance with Judith Butler's (1990) theory of performativity, all self-defining acts of gender identity could at the level of expression be defined as performance. But I am

suggesting that overt acts of contestation are at some point in time consciously acknowledged and/or performed as an expression of gender identity.

For example, both Sue and Laura recalled a childhood in which they had contested and resisted cultural gender differences, in both instances by refusing to conform to female roles, games or dress. Both had been increasingly and acutely aware that they were at odds with female contemporaries. Although the processes of resistance were similar for both of them, and echoed by other participants, the impetus behind the resistance arose from different reasons, the strongest of which seemed to be family dynamics; another, not insubstantial reason, was sexuality. As discussed below, whilst powerful family dynamics propelled Sue into an extreme contestation of cultural gender roles, sexuality was a more significant impetus for Laura. Although, Laura did not recognise this as an adolescent, and did not come out as lesbian until she was an older adult, long after she had left home. Indeed, Laura described a greater tolerance of cultural femininities in other girls, and more tolerance for herself as female than Sue, who had been heterosexual all her life, but who recalled feeling a powerful revulsion at being female and held onto a deep-felt expectation to grow up to be a boy right up to adolescence:

“...totally, I was totally, I thought I was a boy really until, until I had a period...(laughs)...so I mean I was just surrounded by boys until I went to grammar school...I just had no truck with girls really... (Sue: 19398A/020)

Sue's shock was profound at realising in early adolescence that not only was she definitively female but that she also had to attend the local girl's secondary school:

“..up to the age of eleven, ermm..there was the other two boys that were the members of the gang...and that was it... if you read any of those children's books from that era, where the girls are always tomboys and going along with the fantastic, I was always waiting for the fantastic adventure to happen...(laughs)....it wasn't that exciting, but I mean, we were, yeah, go and do serious things like mapping the woodland and stuff like that as well...yes...so yeah grammar school and little girls yugh!...what a shock, horrible.....I went into depression, immediately, and it was absolutely awful...(laughs)...I used [to] stand and cry every, every lunchtime, break whatever, I would just stand in corners and cry and all these girls playing

jacks and skipping and.....an all girls school, yeah, terrible, terrible....culture shock.” (Sue: 19398A/ 060)

Sue resolved from an early age to resist these conventional gender roles, and her resistance was expressed in a resolute tomboyishness. As she said, she was infused in longing for the ‘fantastic adventure’ only open, in her experience, to adventuring young males. Girls were not only potentially disgusting, but also represented being indoors, in school, rather than out in the woods, ‘mapping’ the land.

Unlike Kath, Tess or Nora, Sue does not describe expediency; for her there was no dressing in frilly dresses or compliance to cultural norms in the public eye, no playing girls games at school. Her childhood world was modelled on contemporary masculinities. Her mother not only tolerated, but positively encouraged Sue’s need to play at being a little boy, compounded perhaps by the fact that Sue was the eldest in her family with three younger brothers. Thus, in an echo of the monoculture of Dot’s female and Geoff’s male families, Sue reproduced cultural masculinities as if in a male monoculture, and rejected cultural femininities at a profound level right up into adulthood. Marie Maquire (1995) argues that such a dynamic is the ‘reality’ of gender identity, which she describes as ‘complex, chaotic and often only partially successful’, and within which daughters, for example, ‘simultaneously resist and absorb the awareness that she is female, knowing she is a woman yet feeling that she is in some way male or masculine psychologically’ (Maquire, 1995:56). The important factor in the development of gender identity in this particular scenario will be dependent to some extent on an individual’s cultural and family conventions which may or may not allow women to be valued or empowered (Chodorow, 1994).

Unlike Carol and Ann, who appeared to have been supported by their fathers in some ways as equals, in their contestation of cultural gender roles, Sue’s relationship with her father was complicated by his dominance. Her support seems to have been most felt from her mother, although even this was not without complexity and contradictions as to accepted gender roles in the family. For example, Sue was expected, as the only girl and the eldest, to help care for her two youngest brothers, a role that was not expected of her other brother. Yet, at the same time, her mother

tolerated Sue's tomboyish without question and once a teenager, her mother never forced Sue to go out and befriend girls or take part in activities with other girls. As for her father, Sue describes him as a man absorbed in his own world. He was keen on archery, at that time a largely male-defined sport, and Sue felt she could have kept contact with him only by going in and staying in his world via keeping up archery as sport. She allowed herself to be drawn in during her early childhood but escaped when she found him so dominant, even though this risked losing contact. She realised that her mother had gone into her father's world, and stayed there. In this way, Sue's family dynamic around gender identity drew intensely on cultural masculinities. To be male was to be powerful, without question; epitomised by Sue experiencing her father as being :

“..like the fountain of all knowledge in the whole universe ..(*laughs*)..while my mother was a provider of, you know, food and, keep you going..*(laughs)*...but my dad knew everything..*(laughs)*..” (Sue: 8598B/500)

But, as the ‘provider of food’ - a role Sue's father never took on - her mother followed the ‘historical legacies’ of her middle-class cultural femininities of England in the 1950s (Skeggs, 1997). However, in almost all other ways the family did not push Sue to act out cultural femininities, leaving Sue to think: “the world was, you know, was male.”(Sue: 8509B: 2/080). In some ways Sue was echoing Geoff and Tony in an experience of the world as male. Although for Tony and Geoff the emphasis was on their realising they were of the dominant gender, a position which was experienced by both these men as almost as oppressive as Sue found her position of being female, and thus considered non-dominant. In contrast to Sue, however, Tony and Geoff do not report resisting or contesting cultural masculinities as children and teenagers. Neither Tony nor Geoff report such extreme resistance as Sue. In neither case did they start to contest cultural gender until adulthood when they became alert to the ways they were impinged upon by cultural gender differences, and also as they acquired interest and involvement in alternative lifestyles which offered them different ways of challenging cultural gender norms.

Sue, from childhood, but particularly as a teenager, managed her own sense of oppression from cultural femininities, by violently rejecting contact with other girls, whom she recalls seeing as “totally uninteresting”.. because .. “[all] they used to do is sit in rooms and giggle and play silly female records and talk about clothes..” (Sue: 8598B: 2/080). Sue’s mother, by supporting this rejection perhaps reflects a need to maintain her own resistance to those stereotypes, which may have been threatened by her daughter making inroads into contemporary cultural femininities. So potent was this dynamic that Sue recalls never recognising her own power to “have changed her own image”, and continued throughout her teenage years to be disgusted by this “girls’ world, where you’re supposed to look pretty and ermm....you know....(laughs)... learn about kissing” (Sue: 19398A/120). Thus the girls in her area:

“.. would never dream of inviting me to the cafe, ‘cos I wore the wrong sort of fuddy duddy clothes..(laughs)..I really never cottoned on that actually what I could have done was [to] have changed my outer image and then I might have been allowed to go along, it never occurred to me that that was a possibility.. I wore the clothes that my mum chose for me...or I made, and they were still never the right thing so, I didn’t go out, I’m pretty sure.” (Sue: 19398A/120)

By the beginning of her twenties Sue’s extreme resistance to cultural gender roles resulted in her distancing herself from other people. Thus, her stand proved immensely difficult and lonely, suggesting such resistance carried a high cost in terms of human companionship. As she recalls, for years she found herself in:

“..the oddball’s niche, yes, which wasn’t very satisfactory, I mean, I don’t think I found a niche for myself until....I joined the commune. I don’t think really I found people that I understood in university or postgrad. college. Awful....I suppose I’d just sort of sunk into complete inner world and it, I found it really hard to relate to other people.” (Sue: 19398A/080-100)

Through her adulthood, however, Sue gradually seems to have moved into a less extreme position. She describes a more complex relationship with cultural gender. She strongly supported feminism and actively sought out what she describes as “feminist” communal living. On the other hand, Sue chose to maintain a long-term relationship with the father of her son which did not overtly contest current cultural

gender roles. Instead to a large extent Sue's relationship followed conventional patterns of her partner earning the family income, while she stayed at home caring for, and teaching, their son. A softening of her contestation may have arisen as she found like-minded people, in a communal setting, with whom to share her life. Also once away, finally, from the intense gender dynamic of her family she had less need to define herself with such a marked resistance.

Sue comments that now she finds herself for the first time in her life in a situation that she sees as highly conventional: no longer in a commune, living in a terraced house, still with her long term partner, in many ways living within the bounds of cultural gender roles. Indeed, in the course of the workshops Sue was the most vociferous in resisting concepts of gender difference, a point around which she challenged her idea of my thesis. Yet, Sue's resistance to differences were in contrast to a similar attitude expressed by Dot and John, neither of whom were convinced by the importance of gender differences. But in their case this seemed, particularly for Dot, because differences had rarely been questioned. Whereas Sue's challenge that differences existed appeared to arise from a place where she saw no reason to be 'determined' by difference. For example, she felt very strongly that as a woman she would not be stopped from going wherever she pleased by "the condition of being female". (Sue: 8598B: 2/080). Her refusal to acknowledge the possibility of valid differences appeared almost as absolute as her childhood and adolescent resistance to cultural gender roles.

Laura, who like Sue, demonstrated overt contestation of cultural gender roles and differences, echoed Sue's strong identification with cultural masculinities in childhood. Yet, in many other ways her contestations seemed from the start to be fuelled by some other force than that seen in Sue's reaction to a dominant father. For example, Laura felt that her playing almost entirely with boys as a child came about not only because, as she notes in the extract below, there were no girls to play with, but also because she enjoyed playing tomboyish games, and wearing boy's clothes at home. As she says:

“there was no girls to play there was my brother, and the two other children we played with were ..both boys, there didn’t seem girls around where I lived. I mean at school obviously, school was only about two miles away but actually where we lived there wasn’t any other, so I was quite tomboyish, I suppose because of that, because I would be outside with them, you know climb[ing] the trees”. (Laura: 16398A/040)

As a teenager, once her male childhood playmates no longer wanted to play, or mix with girls in the same way, Laura remembers joining an organisation she thinks was a bit like a youthful version of the ‘Wrens’ in order to go on pursuing more outdoor, male-defined activities. However, in spite of a similar pattern to Sue, of contesting behaviour, Laura did not resist concepts of femaleness to the same degree as Sue. In her teenage years she recalls that she “had girlfriends as opposed to playing with boys, I probably, I think I went round girlfriends’ houses more” (Laura: 16398A: 100). Laura’s more easy-going attitude towards cultural femininities may have arisen from her less extreme family dynamic. She had a younger sister, and thus her family was female dominated, hence there was less need to openly fight dominant cultural masculinities. Instead Laura contested cultural gender through an apparently unassuming, but quite definite way of life; one that highlighted alternative, lesbian and gay defined alternative-cultural femininities: and side-stepped threats from either cultural femininities or masculinities.

In contrast to Ann and Carol who, as discussed in the previous section, had been supported in expedient resistance of cultural gender roles through a strong relationship with their fathers, Laura describes a remarkably ‘non relationship’ with her father:

“.. nothing really springs to mind with my father actually..... I’ve always had a closer relationship with my mother than my father and nothing...I don’t remember him particularly when we were walking or remember him being in the gardenI mean I, I’ve never had that close relationship with him, I’ve never spoke to him, I mean I suppose ever since I’ve moved away from home I’ve never spoken to him on the phone or anything like that, it’s always my Mum,.....so yeah, probably there is quite a distance, I mean we probably don’t really know how to relate to each other... I’ve got real vague memories of any particular, I don’t remember doing anything with my Dad that wasn’t something that we did perhaps as a family that would involve him driving the car ... or taking us somewhere...” (Laura: 3598B/400)

Laura did not identify with cultural femininities, and she moved around those femininities without engaging directly in acceptance or angry resistance; although her resistance was expressed overtly and assertively through dress and activities, she had appeared to not feel the need to define herself by a profound rejection of femininities. Her family seemed to accept her contestation of cultural gender without question. Perhaps her parents were withdrawing from conflicts that may have proved complex and irresolvable. As an adult, Laura reports finally moving beyond the bounds of perceived cultural gender roles altogether, living instead within other 'bounds' of lesbian and gay culture (Esterberg, 1996). She is dedicated to living outside cultural gender roles with a quiet but complete determination. She demonstrates this determination in her discussion of her work as an artist. For example, she feels that the public arena of art and the art world is dominated by men and men's views of art and what makes art. Laura was of the opinion, for example, that these differences had strongly influenced the project, in that so few men had joined the group, because they saw the project as about 'flowers' and thus "women's stuff". As Laura says, women's art is regarded as something less important and easily "dismissed", even though the reasons for the dismissal appear to be elusive to her, possibly due to "men's ... strange perceptions " about women:

".. some things are seen as what women do really, or kind of women's subject matter'cos take flowers, I mean it's a kind of similar thing where it can get dismissed quite you know, quite quickly by galleries and whatever critics as, as 'not serious' because it's not, you know, do you know what I mean and, and, it's, there's something..*(laughs)*, there's something quite, yeah, I think men have some strange perceptions really of what, you know what, what women do really, (Laura: 3598B:2/060)

Undaunted, however, Laura reports ignoring the critics and their criteria in her own life as an artist: she paints flowers, but in a defiantly flamboyant style, and is part of an alternative art co-operative with a few other like-minded men and women. Though to some extent Laura's resistance is as extreme as Sue's, she expresses her resistance in very different ways, which, I suggest, reflect differing and complex intersections of personality and sexuality.

6.5: Gender embodied in modelling

How did these processes described above manifest in the body language of participants during the workshops, or in the course of modelling, and the materials used in modelling? In the lexicon of stereotyped gender in terms of material structures, the masculine is perceived as hard, the feminine soft; women create, men construct (Glover & Kaplan, 2000). How does this translate into the workshop setting, from and to what are participants relating? How did people relate to the gender stereotypes of structure in their body language, and in the ways they approached the modelling materials? Reference to these elements of structure did emerge at different times in the course of the modelling work. The relationship of individuals to gender stereotypes seemed to be highlighted on the several occasions during the course of model-making, when stereotypes were seen to be contested and contradicted, and boundaries negotiated. Thus, the processes of living within, or shifting around and beyond, the bounds of cultural gender differences were seen as much in the modelling, in the body language, in the choice of modelling materials, as in the talk and reflections of participants. Processes of self-definition through modelling materials emerged as complex and multiple variations of expressions of gender differences. However, there was also evidence of gender differences dissolving, or at least becoming less prominent, the more participants were immersed in subjective sensory experience: a phenomenon that is apparent in the material discussed in Chapter Seven.

I observed that self-defining expressions of gender differences became more complex, and individualised, as the workshops progressed. Gradually more self-definitions emerged day by day, over each day: during the first session on Day 1 the most stereotypes were exhibited, with fewer by the last session of that day. There was a slight increase again in the first session on Day 2, and very few by the last session and so on and this pattern was repeated on Day 3.

I suggest that these essentialist versions of gender stereotypes were most obvious at the start of the workshop sessions because at that stage the group was still in a relatively superficial socialised stage of interaction, not only with each other but

also reflected in their engagement with the materials. During initial interactions people tended, as I note in Chapter Five, to ‘fall back’ onto perceived stereotypes as a ‘first port of call’. Perhaps this was a way of ‘checking out’ the group, and finding their own ground in relation to other group members, before revealing self-definitions of gender and personal idiosyncrasies around gender issues. In other words, as the workshops progressed and people grew more confident and secure in the group, self-defining acts of gender identity were more likely to be allowed to emerge, and indeed this pattern was observed. In addition to social interaction factors, another influence may have been the task of sandplay as opposed to material play and landscape modelling. Sandplay may have facilitated accessing early relationship to gender stereotypes, for example the participant may have regressed to the stage at which stereotypes were being explored. The stage of exploration of stereotypes - as part of development of self-definition - tends to produce an emphasis in stereotypic behaviour as a means of highlighting the elements of gender stereotypes and essentialisms.

6.5.1: Within (and beyond) the bounds: masculinities and femininities in materials

In the bullroarer incident discussed in Chapter 5 and again in Section 6.3.2, the fact that Tony *constructed* a gadget, *designing* and engineering his model raised a number of comments about his model as stereotypically male. However, such a blatant stereotype was an exception, and remarked upon, and remarkable, precisely because it was exceptional. More commonly, people commented about how they or others contested stereotypes. These comments I observed were clues as to the perceived (essentialist) stereotypes active in the group and individuals in the group.

For example, I interpreted John and Nora using the words ‘cold’ and ‘very cold eyes’ to describe John’s model representing touch, which he made during the first workshop, as an expression of cold rationality of the intellectual side of the masculine. In the same way, John evoked the muscular, physical aspect of essentialist masculinities in his desire to achieve that ‘rugged look’ that he admired in Geoff and Sue’s sandplay model. Feminine gender stereotypes were invoked by

other members of the group. For example, there was a reference to cooking, which was associated with women in a point made by Sue about Nora's use of vegetables in her sound model on the second workshop day. Nora encouraged this image by referring to the unusual culinary uses of her particular combination of fruit and vegetables. There were other references, which I attribute to essentialist feminine images in structure, with Tony's and John's descriptions of materials as soft and delicate. Ann and Tess also brought out the stark contrasts of soft and hard, warm and cold structures in the experience of touch. John and Geoff both invoked feminine images in their sense of Geoff's model having such 'a lovely centre'.. 'a lovely hole that one can dive into'. Carol emphasises her own perceived stereotype of men as constructors, when she says during the model-making, that models are 'male' because the making is all about wanting to 'make things that work': an aspect of the modelling that echoes her days as a theatre set designer, work she defined as male. Sue, in her final interview, noted how in the first workshop session, the sandplay model completed by herself and Geoff seemed to provoke stereotyped sexual innuendo, which she admitted she found irritating:

".. me and Geoff made our ..oh we were playing together..and we made our mountain, our, ..and, and then I made that hollow thing and then filled it again...and ermm..and I don't know if it came out on the tape but other people were making comments about how Freudian it was...Not in the group session, but as they were you know, passing by it and stuff ..(*laughs*).. and I suppose I was a bit miffed by that, and I think people presumably could interpret it anyway, even playfully, but ermm...they 'd say.. "maybe it's 'cos you were attracted to Geoff", you know, it's like the worst innuendo things....(*laughs*)..." (Sue: 8598B:180)

Other versions of the process of staying 'within the bounds' of gender stereotypes / essentialisms emerged in the body language during sandplay and materials sessions. For example John's first act in the workshop sandplay session was to place his hand over his sand in an 'owning it' gesture. In contrast Dot touched and felt around the edges in an exploratory gesture (see Fig. 6.1). In the following video still (Fig. 6.2) - recorded a few seconds later - John takes over all of the sand. He accentuates this proprietorial gesture by placing both his hands firmly over all the sand he is sharing with Dot, thus - albeit temporarily - he prevents Dot from playing with the sand. This

little scene enacted a version of cultural masculinities that places the male as the 'owner and possessor', in charge, while the female is only allowed to explore around the edges. (See Rachel Woodward (1998) on men 'owning' landscape through military activity, and J.Douglas Porteous (1990) on male domination of land as territory: where land is synonymous with mother/female and thus fused into a 'mystic one' to be dominated. See also Jane Flax (1990a) who draws on object relations theory, amongst other psychoanalytic approaches, to argue that the need for male to dominate female is directly attributable to repressed fear and powerlessness originating from the mother- male infant dyad).

However, the idea of 'territory' was shared equally between men and women in the group, notably in the first sandplay session. For example, in feedback Tess, Nora, Laura and Tony all talked about having to 'negotiate territory' in the sandplay exercise when working in pairs. By the second workshop day 'territory' was not discussed, suggesting that openly talking about 'territory' was a function of the group getting to know each other; which moved into tacit respect and awareness of individual 'territory' as people became familiar with each other.

There is also a version of cultural femininities played out in the above scenario where women are seen to gently/softly explore territory, discovering connections by following through with fingers and hands. This is in contrast to men who mark out their territory with their whole hand over the top of everything, and are likely to conduct explorations by a process of construction and de-construction, to see 'how it works' (see above for Nora's comments in relation to Tony's model). Particularly in the first workshop, I observed some women in the group, for example, Ann, Kath, Tess and Nora who tended to initiate their exploration of the sand in a similar way to Dot: getting a sense of the whole before deciding how to proceed. The other two men in the group, Geoff and Tony, as well as one of the women Laura, tended to quickly impose their hands onto the sand at the beginning and then go more rapidly than the others into construction of shapes and form in the sand.

Likewise in the second workshop, a similar pattern emerged, in the approach to sand and other materials, between some of the women and the two men. For instance, Carol and Tess - who worked in the same pair - spent a longer time than Tony and John in slow, ponderous exploration of the sound of sand, tending to work with more delicate, gentle movements (see Fig. 6.3). Tony and John, although working in pairs with women, moved rapidly into constructing forms in the sand. In both cases the women (Ruth and one of the workshop assistants) were apparently happy to go along with a predominantly construction-oriented model.

John, for instance, did not explore the sound or smell element of sand at all. Instead, he focused purely on the construction element of quite complex forms: a pattern he continued with when using other materials in the next exercise. His response to being asked to explore 'sound and smell with various materials' was to complete an intricate, representational model in which he depicted himself surveying the pond near the group venue (Fig. 6.4). Tony likewise displayed a highly dynamic relationship to sand, firstly by concentrating on building a pyramid, and then focusing on exploring sounds and smells by vigorous sniffing and tasting of the sand. As I noted above, Tony continued a similar dynamic interaction to other materials in his construction of a bullroarer, carved out of a piece of wood during the following session (see Fig. 6.5).

An example of another version of cultural femininities was observed in three women, Tess, Dot and Ruth, all of whom at some stage of the workshops chose to use a needle and thread to sew materials, an activity with a history in English culture of being predominantly feminine.¹¹ In Tess and Ruth's case this involved some fairly dextrous and intricate sewing. Ruth, for instance, sewed a fine silk 'pouch' and threaded ribbons as part of a mobile model of sounds and smells. Tess sewed pieces of velvet together, and fixed button, as part of her abstract of landscape on the final workshop. The use of needle and thread was not confined to the women in the group:

¹¹ Exceptions to sewing as traditionally female are found in industries such as male and female skilled textile workers in England from the sixteenth to twentieth century (Walton, 1987; Sharpe, 1987), but outside of industry, in English culture fine hand sewing and knitting has tended to be seen stereotypically as feminine.

Tony used thread to hang button and nails in his landscape model on Day 2. But the dexterity and small finger movements with which Ruth, Dot, and Tess handled the needle and thread, and the models they created by sewing pieces of material together were markedly different from Tony's more vigorous, expansive movements and his utilitarian use of thread to hang nails from the twigs. Sue also used thread to hang nails from twigs and she approached the materials in the same utilitarian manner as Tony, a point to which I shall return below.

Beyond hand and finger movements, participants' body language at times, and more so in certain people than others, exhibited some well-defined gender differences. For example, a range of movements and ways of using the body were observed. These ranged from strong, expansive movements, demonstrated by all the men and some women, in which the whole body was used freely, to smaller movements, and/or more restricted or confined use of the body, which were only seen in some of the women. For example, Dot represented an extreme of confined timidity in her whole body movement, which echoed the image of the 'delicate, repressed' state associated with white Western middle-class women evoked by Jane Flax (1990a). The opposite extreme of expansive, powerful muscular movements observed in Tony brings to mind Harry Brod's (1987:14) 'persisting images' of 'real men': physically strong, aggressive, and in control of their work'. This pattern of the gendering of body language is reminiscent of Iris Marion Young's (1977) discussion of cultural influences in relation to different body movements of men and women during physical activity.¹² Young suggests that from childhood women's learned relationship to the world includes not only to be seen to be weaker physically and less able as part of the cultural gender dynamic, (a tactic, which may be used to survive being the 'object of the [male] gaze'), but also, as girls, women learn early in their development to hold back passively from an object of action: 'approach[ing] a

¹² Young (1977) cites the work of Erwin Straus (1966), who observed that when throwing a ball girls tended to constrain their physical movements: holding back their bodies and not using a full swing to throw the ball, as opposed to boys who tended to make full and free use of their body. Straus had surmised that these observed differences were biological, and as Young highlights for Straus this was proof of some 'mysterious feminine essence' (1977:142). Young refutes Straus's argument, although she concedes to some element of biological difference. She contends at least some of this phenomenon was a socially learned, deeply entrenched Western cultural gender difference. She notes

physical engagement with things with timidity, uncertainty, and hesitancy'. (1977:146). In contrast, Young argues, men from boyhood are encouraged to actively go towards and interact with the object, and thus be seen to be stronger, more physically able and therefore superior. As Simone de Beauvoir (1949) argues, by these (and other non-physical) means men maintain a status quo of 'transcendence' and women find themselves relegated into, and colluding with, a state of 'immanence'.

As I discuss in the next section, body language gender differences tend to express a high degree of self-definition, strongly aligned to individual gender identity. However, cultural masculinities and femininities were seen in those participants who in certain other ways expressed though body language staying 'within the bounds'. For example, during model-making Dot, Ann and Nora, markedly used small, confined movements of hands and fingers which tended to not involve their whole body. In contrast, all the men and some women, notably those who had self-identified as 'tomboys' or described themselves as 'free to play 'boyish' games' in childhood, such as Sue, Laura, Tess and Ruth used expansive movements involving the whole body quite freely (see Fig. 6.6).

These observed, sometimes admittedly subtle, patterns of gender differences in handling of sand and materials, are not wholly consistent with other findings on sandplay research discussed by Rie Rogers Mitchell and Harriet Friedman (1994). They cite a study of sandplay in adults by G.C.Denkers (1985) where she found no appreciable gender differences in the ways with which sand was approached and worked. However, Mitchell & Friedman (1994) also cite psychotherapeutic research in children by Erik Erikson (1951), and more recently Linn Jones (1986), in her doctoral study of sandplay and children aged between two to thirteen years old. Both studies refer to gender differences in children, which are similar to those that I observed in this participant group of adults - taking into account observed gender

that the relationship of the subject to the object/ the world was expressed via the 'purposive orientation of the body as a whole towards things' (1971:143).

differences in terms of the process of self-definition.¹³ Jones, for instance, found that boys engaged with the sand in a more ‘dynamic and aggressive’ style to the girls who ‘tended toward more intimate, co-operative play’ (Mitchell & Friedman, 1994: 96).

6.5.2: Contesting the bounds: breaking out structures

Points of resistance to cultural gender differences in body language and approach to materials emerged in several participants and in several different ways. For example, Sue and Tony used similar materials on Day 2. Resistance to being stereotyped by other participants emerged when Sue expressed her delighted in both herself and Tony using similar materials in their models representing sound in the landscape: in Sue’s mind this demonstrated that there should not be any importance attached to gender differences. During the landscape modelling session on the second workshop day Tony and Sue happened to be working at the same table. Both of them had used nails hung from twigs with cotton thread to replicate the sound of birds twittering in the trees - Tony had also used buttons and his model was in fact quite different from Sue’s model, apart from this use of nails (see Fig.6.7 & Fig.6.8). Some participants in the feedback suggested that Sue and Tony sharing the same table had resulted in an exchange of ideas, but Tony was certain this was not what had happened:

Sue: “...that’s the little birds [*she tinkles the nails she has hung on twig branches to represent the bird song.*]

¹³ In this thesis the model I am proposing assumes that masculinities and femininities are drawn upon depending on the self-definition of each participant, whereas Jones (1986), for example, assumed boys displayed masculinities and thus the sex (male in this example) of the child together with their behaviour was a defining factor of masculinity. Hence she observes boys are aggressive, girls are more intimate. In my observations, regardless of sex there may be behaviour that expresses more or less of particular cultural gender differences, and these expressions are determined by the self-definition of each individual at any given moment or in the course of any one session. Sue, for instance, who admitted having within her lexicon of self-definitions one of ‘tomboyishness’, was observed mostly exhibiting body language which reflected this version of cultural masculinities, in a similar dynamic, aggressive style that Linn Jones attributes to maleness. In contrast John, who has a quite an eclectic mix of masculinities and femininities in his self-definition, was observed at times to express co-operative ‘play’ attributed by Jones to femaleness (as when he worked with Ruth on Day 2), at other times he could exhibit more aggressive dynamic body language (as when he worked with Dot on Day 1).

Tony: I'm glad you said first about the nails and stuff, because I had the same idea but I know you executed the idea first, it looks like I'm copying.....honestly I did have the same idea..

Sue: You were getting buttons.....

Tony: I've used buttons as well, so there, that's the birds, and er...different high pitched sounds and there are at least twenty birds, different birds that you could find there and then you've got crunching through the undergrowth.." (Wk: 18498B1/001)

Later in a feedback session Sue reiterated her point that using similar materials proved that gender differences were not important:

"..one of the very interesting things was that me and Tony perceived the same thing and we came back and created, through the same format - we both had nails hanging from twigs to make a bird's twittering noise - and I thought, well that's fascinating considering what the PhD thingy topic is, whether there's gender differences.. I thought ah ha, (*laughs*)..... I was very, very pleased that Tony perceived the same thing in the landscape as me, ...because I don't actually think ..that.. there's..more choices in our society for where men and women can place themselves than in one box or the other box, and I thought that showed..that somehow we were, for some reason or another closer together in our, in the way we perceived that particular landscape." (Wk: 25498A1/100)

This incident illustrates a resistance to an imagined boundary where Tony's bullroarer represents an adherence to the imagined bounds. Both incidents were the most clear expressions, in the workshops, of a sense of imagined boundaries.

Geoff, and many of the women, who represented a range of differing self-defined gender identities, also demonstrated a use of markedly similar techniques when making holes in the sand. In Day 3's sand and water exercise, these holes were invariably filled with red or purplish water: which incidentally roused an undertone of sexual references, which were largely shared only between the women. However, Sue was considerably angered on Day 1 by comments made in relation to her and Geoff's sandplay model. However, by Day 3 sexual references had become tacit, expressed instead via much laughter and amusement when Ruth suggestively

demonstrated putting her finger in a sand hole she had created and encouraged others to do the same so they could experience the feel of it.

Breaking out beyond the 'bounds' of cultural gender was expressed through body language as a series of fluid and interleaved actions. In the workshop sessions people expressed the re-crossing and re-defining of gender possibilities in movement, choice of materials and approach to materials. Thus, in one moment, there might be an extreme expression of bounded masculinities and in another those boundaries were challenged. For instance on Day 2, Tony's bullroarer excited much interest, with the whole group (all women that day except for John) streaming outside to watch him demonstrate his construction in a scene that suddenly seemed a powerful expression of male dominance of the physical realm, with women passively watching. Yet, in the next moment, Nora stepped forward to challenge Tony and prove that she, as a woman, could also play bullroarers, and be competent in the physical world. Although, in practice, Nora admitted, she could not immediately whirl the object effectively, she was clear that with practice she could learn the knack. This action seemed to be an expression of a woman determined to break out of those cultural 'bounds' that suppose boys' and men's superior strength and physical competence. In similar way Ruth, on Day 3, crossed the 'bounds' that dictated 'only men construct', when she used a hand drill in making her model of woodland sounds and smells. Her use of tools was more remarkable in not exciting any remarks, unlike Tony's approach to his artefact model, which became a focus for the whole group.

In terms of types of materials used and modes of use all the participants made a wide-ranging use of materials that appeared to not be either culturally gender-specific or self-defined specific (see Appendix 7 for an example of some different materials participants used in workshop sessions). In this sense most participants moved freely, rarely appearing to be hindered by versions of cultural and or essentialist differences that might prevent, for instance, women who were self-defined as living within the bounds of cultural femininities, from working with a material associated with cultural masculinities, such as hard, unyielding metals,

metal foil, wood, rocks or bricks. Likewise, men, and women self-defined as 'tomboys' and/or living 'outside the bounds of cultural femininities', worked equally with materials associated with Western versions of cultural femininities, such as textiles, feathers, wool and thread (see Skeggs, 1997). There were a few exceptions to this pattern. John was the only participant who used polyfilla plaster, a material used almost exclusively in house maintenance, and building construction, with strong associations of the version of cultural masculinities that states men construct and build (see Connell, 1995). There was, however, a breaking of that particular convention in that Carol and Tess both made use of a great deal of metal foil, and Tess, Sue, Carol and Nora used wire extensively. There was also a version of cultural femininities enacted, that which associates women with flowers, (an association reiterated on various different occasions by Dot, Ruth, and Ann). Ruth and Ann were the only participants to use flowers extensively in their models of woodland.

General vegetation such as leaves, wood, twigs and plant debris, were used equally by almost all participants throughout the workshops.¹⁴ Women predominantly used water in models, a female association that appears to follow a similar pattern found by Denkers (1985). The sole exception among the men was John's model of a fisherman during the materials session on Day 2. Furthermore, men in the Denker's study also tended to represent humans in models more readily, whereas women tended to use more natural materials and represent animals instead. In this project John was the only participant to use representative human figures in his models. Animal representations were seen in Ruth's model on Day 3, although all participants, men and women alike, of all self-defined genders, focused in a variety of ways on birdsong and sounds in the woodland models on Day 2.

Body language proved to be the most powerful and authentic expression of the relation to cultural gender through the processes of self-definition. As I note at

¹⁴ Denkers (1985) is cited by Mitchell & Friedman (1994) as having found a significant difference between men and women in the use of water and vegetation in models. In this project, with the exception of John in his sand and water model (when he had been directed to use water!) water was used predominantly by women in their models.

the beginning of this sub-section, this suggests the body is a powerful medium of expression of the particular potential fluidity, or rigidity, within each participant's relationship to gender identity.

6.6: Gender in relationship to the project

This short section is concerned with 'tidying up' some of the gender issues that arose around actually taking part in the project, and the differences between men's and women's preparedness to get involved. The fact that the individuals in the group had chosen to take part in the project was an indication that they were all prepared to engage in creative activity. But, as several participants noticed, the group was predominantly women, nine women to three men, of whom only one man stayed for every workshop. Tony discussed this issue in his final interview. He had attempted to persuade more men from his men's group to take part, but found other men were anxious about not knowing what they would be expected to do, and needing exact details as to the tasks involved. However, in spite of being assured of my willingness as researcher to discuss any anxieties or issues should any potential participants wish to contact me, Tony was unable to encourage or even persuade anyone else from his group to ring for information. About nine men were either contacted as part of my networking strategy or did ring as a result of publicity at some time or another, but of those men only three (including Tony) committed themselves. So the fact that, in contrast, Tony had trusted the project enough to not only contact me and arrange an interview but then take part, was a powerful indication that he - and the other two men involved - were considerably more prepared to take risks than most of the other men who heard about the project. Tony, Geoff and John had all to some extent been willing to connect with their creativity, with past memories, and to share feelings and ideas, and possibly be vulnerable in front of total strangers. Of course the women who got involved had also taken these same risks, and the difference was stark; about ten women had contacted me or been approached through the networking, of those ten, all bar one took part. Thus to some degree, the risk in participating could be seen as gendered.

Both women and men were very aware of this gendering, and in the opinions of several participants this did suggest gender differences in the preparedness of women and men to get involved in a project that demanded strong personal commitment. Some participants also wondered if the wording of the project's title in all the publicity "In Touch with Local Landscape" had been a factor. Carol, Kath and Laura pondered on how men might have been put off by what Laura described as the "touchy, feely" wording, and Carol joked that if I had put 'building a landscape' for example, more men would have presented themselves. Tony thought that some of the problem lay in men being afraid of a woman being in charge, plus anxiety about trusting me in a project that might be perceived as 'touchy/feely'. These comments emerge full of cultural stereotyping of men and women, and at the point of introduction to the project, there did seem to be many cultural stereotypes at work. But the participants who eventually took courage and were sufficiently interested did go beyond any inhibitions imposed by cultural stereotypes. Once the bounds were crossed and different possibilities of being emerged those anxieties changed or were displaced by actual experience.

6.7: Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored how participants expressed many meanings of gender. I have demonstrated some of the processes of living within, without and across or crossing the 'bounds' of cultural masculinities and femininities whereby a dynamic, self-definition of gender identity is seen to be in continual relationship to perceived stereotypes. I have examined how an individual's self-definition of gender was expressed during workshop sessions in numerous ways, both physically as observed in body language on walks and in the model making, and in participants' cognition which I observed in their reflections and ideas. In the next chapter I look at the ways this same notion of self-definition occurs in relation to landscape perception. By examining the complex sensory experience of participants in relation to materials and during the landscape visits I set about a final exploration into some of the ways that gender might influence landscape perception.

Fig. 6.1 John and Dot:

John's first act in the workshop sandplay session was to place his hand over his sand in an 'owning it' gesture. In contrast Dot touched and felt around the edges in an exploratory gesture.



Fig.6.2 John takes over all of the sand



Fig 6.3 Carol explores the sounds of sand



Fig 6.4 John's model of himself surveying the pond near the group venue



Fig 6.5 Tony carving his bullroarer model on Day 2



Fig 6.6 Sandplay on Day 3:
Ann uses her characteristic small confined movements in contrast to Sue's typically vigorous expansive movements



Fig 6.7 Sue's model of woods and birdsong on Day 2:

Sue and Tony shared the same table and both used nails clinking together hung from twigs to demonstrate the sound of birdsong.



Fig 6.8 Tony's landscape model on Day 2:

Like Sue, Tony has communicated his experience of the sound of birdsong using nails and buttons strung from twigs.



Chapter Seven: Sensory landscapes

7.1: Introduction

As I discuss in Chapter Two, much of the landscape debate in the literature concedes that landscape acts as metaphor, medium or mirror for infusions of cultural and individual meanings (see Meinig, 1979; Duncan & Duncan, 1988; Burgess et al., 1988a, 1988b; Daniels & Cosgrove, 1993; Rose, 1993; Mitchell, 1994). In Chapter Five I described the presence and emergence of cultural myths and meanings around landscape, and participants' individualised meanings associated with certain myths. In contrast in this chapter I move into a realm which has, as noted previously in Chapter One, received little attention, that of the relationship of participants to landscape beyond myths and stereotypes. To gain an understanding of an individual's relationship to landscape - using material arising from the interviews and workshops - I explore not only personal accounts and reflections, but also most importantly the sensory experience through which landscape, and the constituent elements of landscape, are perceived and given individual meaning. I also note some of the processes by which participants' childhood experience shaped their adult perception.

Landscape perception is in a quite different order to gender identity. Whereas gender identity is integral to the Self, and thus will be a part of an individual's way of being in the world expressed as continuous and highly visible statements through dress, demeanour, language use, body language and actions, landscape is an Other to which the Self relates. As an Other of *relationship*, unless a person is observed, or observing themselves actively engaged in the relationship there will not necessarily be expression of that relationship visibly or continuously. (As opposed to expression inherent in elements of identity, such as gender, that constitute the Self expressed as a function of the continuity of Self). Following the theoretical base of this thesis, from earliest infancy and through childhood landscape perception is regarded as primarily a sensory experience. The sensory experience is acted upon and infused with socio-cultural and individual meaning, produced and re-produced in ongoing relationship with landscape as place; and with the elements of landscape that resonate with an individual: influenced by memories, fantasies, and myths.

In the first and second Sections 7.2 and 7.3, using illustrations from video stills and photographs as relevant, I explore sensory experience of landscape, and the ways this was expressed through body language, modelling, choice and use of materials, and reflected upon in feedback sessions and interviews. Here it is apparent how the degree to which issues of gender identity emerge is different in different contexts within the process of perceiving and modelling. In particular, gender seemed to become less prominent the more participants were engaged with the subjective experience of sensory perception. In the next Section 7.4, I start to draw the three areas of the thesis together: namely gender influence, landscape and subjective experience. I examine participants' self-defined relationship with landscape and the kind of elements of landscape that emerged in verbal feedback and discussion and in the course of modelling. Secondly, I look at the ways participants described landscape. In the final Section 7.5, I briefly visit two participants' dreams that arose through the fieldwork, and serve to illustrate the transformatory potential of sensory experience of landscape.

7.2: Landscapes of touch, sound, smell and vision

I have chosen to sub-divide this section discussing each of the senses separately as experienced and explored through the medium of model making and feedback during the interviews and workshop sessions. This division is artificial, but follows on from the workshop exercises which artificially separated the different senses as a means of highlighting the particular qualities and experience associated with each sense. This division is used with the knowledge that in everyday reality sensory experience is demonstrably continuous, multiple, although variable in predominance, and dependent on a multitude of cultural and individual factors. For example, Richard Gross (1996)¹ speaking as a Western psychologist, notes there is a marked emphasis on the visual,² and there are numerous cross-overs and interactions

¹ Gross (1996) cites studies by Dodwell (1995) in which subjects were found to perceive visually about 80% of the time.

² Gillian Rose (1993) also raises important gender issues in the tendency for cultural geographers, amongst others, to persistently value the visual above other senses. But see Ingold (2000) above. As noted by Gross (1996) in psychology there has also been a marked preference to research the visual above all other senses.

between senses and between individual interpretation and sensory experience³. Tim Ingold (2000) calls this 'whole body sensory experience'. He argues that assigning predominance of visual or any of the senses is not just a cultural construct (even the argument of culturally constructed perception, Ingold regards is itself constructed), but that cultural influence cannot detract from the reality of perception as a whole organism phenomena. The bottom line is that we are always in the process of 'making sense' of the world. Ingold maintains that this necessarily requires the "involvement of whole persons with one another, and with their environment, in the ongoing process of social life" (2000:285). Thus, I approach this section bearing these arguments in mind: with the awareness that sensory perception is like an orchestration. If all senses are functioning normally an individual has the whole orchestra at their disposal, and the orchestra will always play together, even though the person may not always consciously bring their attention to any one part of the whole playing. If a person is deprived of sight or hearing for example the orchestra is simply smaller⁴. Hence, what may have emerged is a chance for participants and myself to observe with particular attention different sections of the sensory 'orchestra' at work, whilst acknowledging the integral nature of sensory experience, and moreover the methodology has facilitated participants to quite precisely communicate their experience (Winnicott, 1963c).

³ There are some powerful arguments that suggest the split away from other senses and the focus on the visual is highly relevant and not an accident of nature (see Griffin, 1978; Grosz, 1994; Rose, 1993; Bordo, 1986) amongst others; that patriarchal culture both worships and fears physicality, which represented by and acting upon the consciousness: in particular by touch. The body, the corporeal, is allied in cultural consciousness with femaleness/mother, the female body of blood, guts and pregnancy, giver of life through the power to give birth (Longhurst, 1996; Kristeva 1989). The female body represents life-giving power but also the power of death (not perhaps merely chance that Death in the Hindu religion is represented by the female deity Kali). Male fear drives the cultural mind/body split (Bordo, 1986). The fear (and pleasure or excitement of touch) is intensified by the fact of physical mortality (Kristeva, 1989). In other words, bodies die, thus we touch and we are in touch with loss as we touch. In the moment of touching, and 'having', we are also in the immediacy of knowing loss as not-touching, and 'not having'.

⁴ John Hull (1997: xii) notes that in his experience losing a sense does not result in other senses getting 'better' to 'compensate'; he refutes the idea of 'compensation' absolutely, for him going blind is not like a piece being 'cut out of a cake'. He felt he was left with fewer resources, as he says 'a smaller cake', because he argues, and Ingold (2000) concedes, we use all of our senses as a whole, in effect 'hearing with our eyes as much as we see with our ears'.

I shall first examine the sense that the research used as the primary medium of experience and expression: touch and the tactile, then sound, smell and finally the visual through the tactile.

7.2.1: Tactile: 'on endless seashores'

In the first interview when describing landscape and memories of place, participants tended to refer less often to tactile experience and used fewer descriptives than in relation to the visual, but tactile memory did surface to some extent in childhood memories. For example, Dot, vividly remembered the feel of wet, cold snow, while Nora recalled the particular texture of 'squashy.. bumpy, springy, grass under my feet' as a very small child walking with her family on Box Hill. However, from the first workshop session and thence into the second interview participants engaged with the tactile and, unsurprisingly, tactile descriptives increased as did acknowledged awareness of the tactile. Several participants commented that one effect of the workshop exercises had been to raise their awareness of other sensory experience beyond the visual, which had for most of their adult life, unless deliberately ignored, dominated the ways they perceived landscape. This is an observation that might uphold Constance Classen's (1993) contention that sensory dominance is likely to be culturally influenced, because like all other socio-cultural constructs, individuals are able to change awareness if they choose, and move beyond learned visual or - as observed in some indigenous cultures - auditory predominance (Gell, 1975). As the feedback from the research group below shows this 'different' or 'unfamiliar way' of being in the world was like a 'journey' of 'discovery'. As Ann suggests this took a little while to adjust to, the 'wanting to see' being so habitual, and as Tess, Sue and Ann note, once in that other mode of the tactile, their experience was of a completely different order:

Sue: "Thing that stood out really was how much of an element of discovery it was for all of us, whether we were experienced artists or not it was unfamiliar ways of experiencing the world and we were just discovering things.....anything else.

Ann: How different it was trying to work without sight.....and wanting to see what we were constructing, that didn't appear most until the second stage of

the morning when we were using the sand, to begin with it didn't matter, that was easy to not look. Once we were using materials...difficult not to look.

Sue: And also it could become a journey, as you moved

Tess: oh that's right yes...

Sue: all round the piece...

Tess: Yes it was.....a different, just a completely different way of organising...things..." (Wk 18498A1: 020)

Thus, it would seem the participants are indicating that there is a *quality* of being orientated to tactile perception that is experienced subjectively as 'different'. As researcher I also observed a 'difference' communicated via body language, general atmosphere and behaviour within the group during this and all the other exercises with each of the highlighted senses. I mean 'different' in comparison to observations of people both during individual interviews and when in the group between exercises or during feedback, when people were in their 'habitual' mode of being. The most impressive quality of tactile work was an atmosphere of intense level of concentration and quietness in the group: each individual became deeply absorbed in the act of touching, and to an outsider this absorption, somewhat paradoxically, looked as if the person was 'listening' to touch (see Fig.7.1). The whole body stilled at times while people appeared to allow the textures to be 'felt', as well as using markedly meditative, slow stroking hand and finger movements across surfaces.

On Day 2, during the sandplay Ruth described this experience as 'very good', and that everybody seemed to go into this different state, as she says:

"Well, it's very good 'cos it slipped you into kind of erm.....you feel like primary school actually. Everybody seemed to go kind of dreamy....."
(Wk 25498A1/050)

Both Laura and Sue exemplified this 'dreamy', smoothing kind of movement in their use of clay and sand on Day 1 and Day 3 when the tactile was emphasised. Their movements were of the same quality as seen in Day 2, when the brief was to hold touch in mind while exploring sound and smell through tactile means; and as I note below, this slightly different emphasis brought out another range of body language

and experience. Tess remarked that she had become aware of the sand being like the fur of a dog, that she could stroke:

“this one [*Tess’s sandplay model she did first, on her own*] I felt was very sort of unified, much more so than the one that Nora and I did, and I found that it ended up really solid and its sort of like stroking a short-haired dog or some kind of animal” (Wk: 4498A/280)

In my observations of the tactile workshop day I saw that movements such as stroking, smoothing, circular massaging, moulding and long periods of holding interspersed with patting, and occasionally vigorously picking up and dropping, characterised the tactile experience. These kind of movements occurred whether participants were at sandplay, working with materials or out in the landscape. Exceptions to this slow, smoothing type of hand and body movement occurred whenever participants used tools, although not all participants who used tools altered speed and movement. Kath used tools meditatively, as did John though he did alternate with more vigorous use of a trowel on clay. But movements tended in many cases to speed up and become more angular. For example, Nora poked and banged heavily on the sand with a plastic scraper, whereas previously she had used only her hands smoothing and stroking in direct contact with the sand.

During the first two sessions on Day 1, before the landscape visit, I had briefed the group to allow themselves to ‘explore’ the tactile experience with materials, as preparation for being ‘in touch’ with landscape, as I discuss in Chapter Three. However, although briefed to explore materials, the *ways* in which participants might do this was in no way proscribed or directed. Much of the exploration was observed to be of the stroking nature described above. Other explorations included a wide range of movements involving the whole body when standing, or if sitting the upper half of the body: for example, pouring sand repeatedly, kneading and smoothing clay, stroking and squeezing velvet, feathers and other textiles, strong bending and twisting of hazel and willow withies, and much intricate finger work with wire, foil and beads. In both material sessions and landscape modelling sessions on Day 1, participants only occasionally used tools to

cut or mould: the preference was to connect primarily directly with hands - again a preference I had left entirely up to participants to choose. For instance, when modelling the seaside visit, Sue used a saw to cut up plasterboard to represent her experience of the beach. But her using a tool in this way proved to be an exception in this session. All other participants tended to only use direct hand contact to mould clay, hold and then place rock, sand, driftwood, seaweed or metal fragments, and tie wool or thread to bind objects in place.

During the landscape visit to a seaside site on the 'tactile' day many participants maintained the same body language observed above: for example, slow, meditative touching, stroking, holding, using the 'listening' stance and generally moving slowly around the beach area. These slow movements were in spite of a strong cold wind blowing and heavy rain. Exceptions to direct hand contact with objects and elements on the site were when John used his stick to vigorously 'poke' at the shingle and driftwood. (John was not able to bend down easily so using a stick to poke at things was perhaps an easy way to 'connect', though he did sit on a wall and gather objects around him).

By highlighting the tactile, participants were facilitated to access a 'different way of being in the world'. This brought out movements that soothed, that stroked, that treated the materials, the sand, the objects and the landscape in similar ways as when touching and connecting with the human body. Stroking and smoothing were a means to connect with that which is outside, in deeply sensual ways.⁵ In this group there were rarely fast or vigorous actions except with tools, but when present included patting hard, smacking the materials and poking holes: actions that seemed,

⁵ In terms of the sand or materials, or landscape, as Other, as outside, it is conceivable that sand, in this instance is experienced as a transitional object. i.e. in the space between Self and Other, which was regarded as a potential space of creative interaction. Alternatively the material or landscape may be also become internalised and experienced as Self, or be externalised as Other. Therefore there may be a number of different positions from which the Object that is stroked, is perceived. At any one time any participant might be projecting their Self onto the materials and soothing, stroking Self, or they may be projecting some Other with whom or with which there is pleasure, anger or frustration or some other emotion. There may also be a need to intensify contact as a means of intensifying the sensation, and thereby intensifying the continuity of subjective reality; or to ensure the continuity of imagined landscape, or to ensure the continuity of memories that the landscape or the touching of materials evoked and so on (Winnicott, 1971b).

from my observations to be some expression of anger, or some violent or intense emotion.

The language used in feedback was markedly rich and sensual, which supports my contention that, by bringing attention to the tactile, people had accessed a rich vein of sensual connection with the landscape. This connection, as Sue's feedback suggests, demands not only great attention to detail, but also had the effect of 'waking her up':

"Hm, yeah, I felt it..I mean it was exactly that, with the, the different softnesses and you know, this bit and this was woolly bits and the moistness of that and this was fascinating that bit of bark but erm.the shape is incredibly intricate when you've got your eyes shut..*(laughs)*....and that 'cos these wonderful little rising up ridges, you know...erm.....a different experience entirely, instead of concentrating on the shape I was very feeling these, you know, these complex curves....and then suddenly this hard bit is...whoo!..*(laughs)*....wakes you up....hmm....." (Wk 4498A/100)

Laura also describes the way in which her tactile awareness was brought out and how this was an absorbing and 'pleasurable' experience. Her modelling recalls Winnicott's 'squiggle game'.⁶ Though in this version instead of a pen and paper and a squiggle, Laura starts with a lump of clay and lets her hands take the clay and shape it:

"..Yeah, well this was just like a big doodle really, it just kind of, I started with this shape here which I really, again it felt like, kind of the sand really, I really liked feeling that, and modelling that, both with my eyes closed and open.....and from that I kind of ended up pummelling this clay erm.....so it just kind of felt a little bit like a doodle, felt like a big doodle that kind of grew." (Wk 4498A/100)

Winnicott saw the 'squiggle game' as a powerful means with which to communicate inner experiencing. Thus, in these theoretical terms Laura makes use of the 'big doodle' as a 3D communication of her experience of touching and the tactile, not just to other members of the group, but also as an articulation of her experience to

⁶ Winnicott invented the 'squiggle game' where he would invite the person to draw a squiggle on a piece of paper, and then let it develop into whatever came into the person's mind. He saw this a

herself. As I note in Chapter Three, this is an important function of the use of 3D modelling in the fieldwork.

All the participants noted how touching a finished model was capable of evoking powerfully sensual memories of the place. As Dot said, touching her own and other people's models "brings it all back". For Tony this was the "Claggy wetness, dripping wet sea" (Wk 4498A/100). Whilst for Tess when she touched Nora's model, she was reminded of the walk she took along the seashore:

"Long - seemed to go on forever like going along the coast step by step - feeling things. Like these stones we sat on to have lunch and the buildings, the driftwood. A feeling of distance - long distance." (Wk 4498A/100)

In Dot's case she was impressed not only by the memories of the place but also how as much as human hands modelled the landscape: the landscape could have been modelled by giant hands:

"..Feels like seeing the landscape: brings it all back. Shapes and smoothness. Huge hands could do this to landscape." (Wk 4498A:V2)

She projects an image of huge human hands onto the landscape, suggesting the landscape mirrors her own inner, imaginative landscape, where in phenomenological terms herself as observer and the landscape as the observed are one (Merleau Ponty, 1962).

Nora also found the tactile evoking an image of the human body. Her images are a mixture of touching the 'instability', the jagged, wild elements of Sunderland Point, alongside the sensation of smoothing Kath's model with its clay representation of the seashore. In Nora's memory this is a seashore of many levels; 'deceptive', and then as perceived through touching Kath's model has a feel like silk, like human skin:

[Nora talking about Kath's model] "...I know Sunderland Point really, really well. Jagged and wild and slightly dangerous edge to it but amazing touching

symbolic expression of elements of a person's inner world, and the relationships between parts of Self and Self and Other (Winnicott, 1951: 18; 1971d).

it [the model] with eyes shut, it actually feels like silk. Instability of surface - moving things and like when you walk there, the ground moves all the time, different levels: a deceptive place. To touch Kath's model is a lot like skin to touch." (Wk4498A/V2)

Connecting to the external world, or landscape through a predominantly tactile means is as Ingold (2000) suggests and this group, at least, seems to bear out, never a neutral experience. When 'in touch' these individuals never seem to be able to create a distancing effect on landscape or objects, as is possible to imagine in a predominantly visual mode. However, I would go beyond Ingold's pronouncement that "Touch, in a word, confirms the materiality of the visible" (2000:259). I would suggest that touch, when used as a means of enlarging conscious sensory awareness of landscape, goes further than merely 'confirming materiality'. As Tess says:

"..that first day .. that was wonderful ermm...and trying to work with your eyes shut most of the time.. it was a complete revelation to me, how different everything was by feel, and just how you couldn't take something in...it took time to discover things, and even then you didn't discover everything and bits that you thought were part of it weren't part of it..... I think I'm more likely now to ..stop and sniff if you like and just be aware that seeing isn't the only thing when you're going through somewhere, now I come to think of it, I suppose I have been conscious, have been aware of these things, but less consciously before.." (Tess: 10598B/ 280).

Tess's and other participants' feedback suggests that attending to tactile perception brings to conscious awareness multiple dimensions of experience of that landscape - perhaps, rather paradoxically, brings the landscape into another focus.

7.2.2: Sound and smell

During the first interview only five of the participants recalled sounds of landscape, and only two recalled smells. Ironically, the descriptive used by all the five people recalling sound was 'quiet'. Thus, they were more likely to recall sound in landscape by its absence! Nora and Carol were the only two participants to report actual sounds, and they were, oddly enough the only two people in the first interview to recall smell in landscape. In Nora's case one of her earliest childhood memories was hearing the lions roaring in London Zoo in the summer evenings (her family lived for a time next to Regent's Park opposite the Zoo). She also had a clear

memory of hearing a cuckoo when the family moved to a more rural location in Greater London. Nora also had an equally clear memory of the smell of gorse on walks as a child; which she found intriguing as she freely admitted that as an adult she did 'not have a good sense of smell'. Carol mentioned the act of listening and recalled hearing sounds of rustling in the landscape, and she had a quite poignant memory of the smell of pine trees in the Rocky Mountains, where she had grown up. However, as with the tactile descriptives, following the workshop sessions in which sound and smell of landscape were explored, in feedback and in the second interview more participants became alert to sound and smell.

Smell, as Tess noted in her second interview, is a most evocative sense: point echoed by Nora and Carol, amongst others in the group. One 'whiff' of the seaside, or for some participants one 'sniff' of the sand during the sandplay and they recalled vivid memories of childhood holidays playing on beaches:

"..I think when I have gone out in to places, I have been aware of the smells... sometimes if I get a strong, particular seaside whiff it reminds me particularly of being on the east coast at Staithes and that was a holiday that I had when I was about eleven..... but.....what was so different was actually trying to abstract that and reproduce it in some way, either directly by bringing back the bit of smell.."
(Tess: 10598B/ 280-360)

The power of smell to evoke childhood memory is, Classen (1993) suggests, a notion peculiar to Western culture which having relegated smell outside the realm of the intellect now associates smell with emotions and memories.⁷ (see also Classen et al., 1994). Classen however acknowledges the 'association' of smell with childhood

⁷ Classen (1993) discusses the historical relationship Western culture has with the sense of smell. She notes that certainly from the Middle Ages in Europe, smell was held to be a highly important indicator of health or sickness medically, and quite literally of denoting social 'rank'. (The word 'rank' meant a strong smell, which gave the meaning to social 'rank', from the fact that one's smell was indicative of one's social standing). However, from the nineteenth century with the rise of industrial and machine technology, Classen traces the gradual erosion of the predominance of smell in the cultural consciousness. This erosion, she surmises, is due to the increase in 'odourless' electronic machinery, an arena that is thus cleansed of distasteful human body odours. Smell was associated for so long with sickness, dirt and body odours, or as she says 'the odour of the other'. Consequently, 'sweet smelling, or strong smelling plants were traditionally used to counteract foul smells, which had for centuries been thought to be the cause of disease or infection. Classen notes with interest, but little comment, the recent obsession with aromatherapy as a means of healing through smell, coupled with a renewed interest in scented flowers in gardens after a century of, for example, breeding out scents from roses. (Classen et al., 1994) have also completed more specific work on aroma and culture.

memory popularised by Marcel Proust in his classic account of childhood.⁸ In contrast, Anne Whiston Spirn (1998) does not consider cultural influence so important, instead she emphasises the wider human experience of place through smell. She describes smell as a vital and inextricable part of what she calls the 'language of landscape', and relates several instances where the scent of a tree, or wood smoke has the power to evoke childhood images precisely because as she contends '...one whiff, and one is transported back across the years. Memories are sensual, personal, place-specific.' (Spirn, 1998:98). Spirn's experience is aligned to research which suggests the perception of smell plays a vital part in human consciousness and feeling, because smell is perceived and connects with, in evolutionary terms, the most ancient, areas of the brain that govern emotions, behaviour and memory as well as conscious thought. For participants such as Tess, John and Tony, smell perhaps, as they implied, does literally permeate their consciousness. At times on Day 2, for example, people found that smells in the landscape permeated and imposed unpleasantness on an otherwise pleasant scene. Several people felt strong slurry smells from the farm near the woods impinged on their woodland visit, likening this to factory smells in urban settings. Throughout their experience in the wood participants found that sniffing things in the landscape tended to produce strong reactions of pleasure or distaste; there were rarely neutral feelings about a smell or scent. But, in spite of the intense power of smell in stimulating reactions and, as participants related, evoking childhood, and adult, memories of a landscape or event, *communicating* the smell experience was not an easy task compared to touch or sound.

Tess felt her experience of smell and sound on Day 2 was hard 'to reproduce' in the workshop sessions. The reason for the problem with communicating the experience of smell was, Tess suggested, because smells 'just happened to you' out in the countryside. Smell she thought, was 'very passive', and that she was a passive recipient of smell, which for her meant:

⁸ Marcel Proust (1871-1922) French novelist is best known for his deeply evocative account of his childhood, 'À la recherche du temps perdu' (1913-27) (1981 trans.) in which he draws on and highlights the intensity of sensory experience, including the power of smell, in evoking vivid memories of place and events.

“...it was difficult in trying to..do something with smell,... out of doors smell is not something that you manipulate or.... how do you sort of produce in some way the effect of, ‘ah, here’s a bit of slurry smell coming across your consciousness.” (Wk:25498A1/220)

Whilst Sue thought of sound in particular, as a ‘different language’, she felt ‘at home’ using it because as she said, ‘I’ve been a singer’, but like Tess, trying to communicate her experience of smell posed a problem:

“..er..what do I do with this. In fact I had no idea how to use it as a communication language. Yes, I’m used to going out there and letting it come in and not doing very much with it, ‘oh that’s nice, oh that’s nice, or that’s horrible’, you know, not much more with it.” (Wk:25498A1/200)

Other participants had found ways round this problem; Carol designed an intricate and highly effective contraption to communicate her experience of smell and sound, during the materials session (Fig. 7.2). Tony and Ann had also ensured they ‘communicated’ their smell experience of the woodland visit to the group. Tony created a clay cave in his model which he had filled with leaves and earth and as he said ‘rotting things’. This part of his model was intended to be interactive and be ‘sniffed’, and thus be a shared experience (Fig.7.3). Ann had created a similar effect in her woodland model (Fig. 7.4), as she says:

“The most I got was some earthy, peat smells through peeling a whole, you know a whole bundle of moss off and by curling that in together, you opened the curl, it really flew out at you.” (Wk: 25498A1/220)

The exercise of bringing smell to the foreground of consciousness in landscape perception seemed to open up another powerful, but often neglected awareness, within the total sensory experience of landscape.

Sound also drew out strongly interactive elements in the models, both with the materials sessions when people experimented in highly creative and dynamic ways with sound, and the landscape modelling session. Nora, Carol, Tony and Sue all created intricate and innovative ways to portray the birdsong in a tactile way (Fig. 7.5). Nora explained her Aeolian Harp (see illustration in Chapter 5 – Fig. 5.1) strung with bobbles and objects in terms of it representing silence alternating with birdsong:

“..it represented the different sorts of birds I had heard singing, like there were birds that went hm and then a bobble and hm and then a bobble and then, you know, that was the idea...(laughs)..... and I thought if you ran your finger along the different kinds of string there was a bird that went errkk.....perperpererkk.....like that....like chickens, you see, you kind of go along and get the bumps for the noise, so it's a tactile thing, you feel it in order to get thing[s]...” (Wk 18498B1/060)

Sue made a partially representational model of the woodland, and was keen to demonstrate the contrast between moments of silence versus sounds of birds singing and rustling:

“.. you got to the stones and all the trees coming out of it and the birds were singing in that bit so this was trying, like the silence and you come up and there's rustlings and that's the little birds [*she tinkles the nails she has hung on twig branches to represent the birdsong*]...making their little cheeping noises..” (Wk 18498B1/001)

Tess represented the sound of thudding footsteps on the field near the wood in an abstract model of her woodland visit. Her model was highly interactive and dynamic, requiring people to ‘thud’ a board with their hands, which was suspended above tin cans and layered with plastic and metal foil to represent crunching leaf litter (Fig.7.6). In a feedback session, Tess indicated that for her the sound and smell exercise had been difficult, in part because of having to bring her awareness to the huge number of sounds in the wood. As she said to John:

Tess: “..I just concentrated on myself, and my feet thumping the ground...

John:..You were....in deeper than I was probably..

Tess: Oh yes, yes.....because I thought..I can't cope with all these sounds that surround me, interesting though it is..... and that was why I was so interested to see somebody who had quite, worked out a way of doing that..” (Wk: 25498B2/150)

John's response that Tess must have been ‘in deeper’ than him is possibly a reflection of the varying degrees of concentration and engagement with the landscape apparent between people during the site visits. John tended not to go off exploring the landscape on his own, unlike some members who tended to venture

further afield. In part because he was less able to walk for any distance and so stayed near other less able participants and myself. Thus, he may have felt that he was not as able to go so 'deep in' to the landscape or the sensory experience as other participants. There is also an issue raised in the idea of 'depth' in a sensory experience of landscape, which Tess in her exchange with John clearly shares. 'Oh yes, yes' she acknowledges, suggesting there is a particular quality of being engaged in sound that enhances a feeling of 'depth of engagement', or of being 'absorbed into' or 'in' the sensory landscape experience. In terms of the model-making and the process of communicating and articulating the experience, Tess's model epitomised the general tenor of interactive work on Day 2, which was in marked contrast to the body language of touch. The language of sound and smell was of movement and dynamism, perhaps because as Nora and Ruth pointed out at different times during the sound/smell workshop:

Nora: "it was about half an hour before it struck me that in order to get noise you've got to get the movement.." (Wk18498A1: 2/540)

Ruth: "Course in reality it wouldn't be static at all, it would always moving, which is what makes the noise isn't it....?" (Wk18498B2: 2/480)

However, there was a process at work in the group, which was particularly apparent throughout the sessions where the emphasis was on sound and smell, that of a compelling desire to communicate. Some of this was expressed through the extraordinary degree of innovation and experimentation in the modelling, a great deal of activity and a lot of humour and laughter. My fieldnotes record that during the group session: "interesting and funny things ... happened when people were making the sound models", and that "people were genuinely quite delighted in some ways by the models that they made.." (Fieldnotes: 18498B2:2/420). In as much as sound and smell, in numerous but less conscious ways, are primary modes of communication from ourselves to the outside world, so the participants were both deeply committed and fascinated by the possibilities of transmitting their auditory and olfactory experience of the woodland visit.

There were impressive contrasts between the auditory-olfactory emphasis and the tactile. An auditory emphasis, in particular, encouraged communication outwards. In terms of object relations this indicates a move into a stage of development where there is an increasingly capacity for the voice and limbs to connect and explore the world through sound. This is a means to respond and interact with Other through taste and smell by exploration of objects orally. The tactile, in contrast, appeared to create a slowing of body language, and facilitated a deepening of concentration, stillness, alternating with outbursts of directed (perhaps emotionally driven) movement. The tactile appeared to express a deeply sensual interaction, which in Winnicottian terms has the potential to connect with and access, the very earliest relational experience.

The task of being aware of both sound and smell together was perhaps made more complex because time constraints, as I note in Chapter Three, had determined they could not be explored singly. Many people found it difficult to manage to hold both senses in a place of predominance at the same time:

“I find it difficult to have smell and sound and movement....it seems I could do one thing but if I did sound without using my eyes that.. but the smell without my eyes or something. I found it hard to get it all together, the two senses didn't work together, unless I was moving as well ...”
(Carol:18498A2/480)

Carol's observation of how the two senses did not work together unless she 'was moving' appears to support Ingold's (2000) notion of all sensory perception necessarily involving the whole organism. Carol's experience is echoed by Tess, amongst others:

“..It was weird combining smells and the sounds, there are so many different, you know I felt I didn't, I mean it's not as if you're trying to produce a unified work of art or anything but I felt the sound and the smell bit didn't really connect together, which was a source of dissatisfaction really..”
(Tess:18498A2/540)

I suggest that this confusion comes about when there is a conscious effort to become aware of one or more senses separately, precisely because if there is a cultural and an individual emphasis on, for example, visual perception the habit will be to have that

sense at the forefront. If other sensory input is relegated to what I will call 'beneath conscious' awareness - in a similar way to bodily actions such as walking, breathing and so on - there is such effort brought to bear to 'do' the breathing or walking that neither action is possible until the person 'lets go' of the mind 'doing' the action. If the conscious mind 'gets out of the way' these 'beneath conscious' actions will continue undisturbed. If the conscious awareness is brought to attend to the action and process of, for instance, walking, or breathing, these normally unproblematic activities become suddenly laboured, as in the case of breathing, or difficult to the point of falling over in the case of walking. In a similar way the process of bringing the awareness to separate senses, caused the participants some confusion when they were asked to observe their experience of sound and smell simultaneously. I contend that the confusion only arose because of the effect of participants' non-habitual 'awareness of processes' as described above. Their experience in no way detracts from the notion that human perception is an interactive sensory phenomenon involving the whole organism (Ingold, 2000; Spirn, 1998).

7.2.3: Visual through the tactile

Bringing attention to the visual sense was deliberately left till the final workshop day, as I have discussed in Chapter 3, and during this workshop both sessions emphasised the tactile as the medium through which the visual experience could be mediated, and expressed. The outcome of approaching the visual this way allowed a variety of responses and expressions that were felt to be qualitatively different from the habitual visual experience. For example, Laura confessed that her model felt 'quite tactile' in the sand/water session, even though she allows herself to engage intensely with colours and shape. The ability of participants to allow visual and tactile senses similar emphasis seemed a great deal less problematic than when sound and smell were explored together. I suggest this may be a reflection of the degree to which there is visual predominance culturally. For although people have the habit of visual predominance they are also in a state of continuous tactile stimulation, even though this awareness may often be in a 'beneath conscious' state, as I discussed in relation to sound and smell. Thus, the sensory 'combination' of

visual and tactile 'felt' most usual for this group because they were most used to that predominant combination.⁹

In the first interviews visual metaphors and descriptives were the commonest used of all the senses when talking about and recalling memories of landscape. As the workshop series proceeded visual descriptives became fewer in proportion to the greater awareness of sound, smell and touch. In the visual exercises and subsequent feedback, the quality of body language and movement was markedly different from the sound/smell sessions. Participants were observed to move into what can only be described as a 'deeper' space; meaning there was a change in the direction of energy from outward communication to periods of introspective concentration. This observed shift in emphasis takes into account that the group had, fortunately, achieved a relatively happy ambience by the third and final workshop. Participants were relaxed and genial together and there was a contented and committed attentiveness in the sessions. Group members were respectful of each others' working space, and almost without exception did not impinge on each others' space unless invited or actively exchanging comments and feedback. If anything the ease within the group and the consequent successful 'holding environment', along Winnicottian lines, facilitated the creation of 'potential space' in which individuals could immerse themselves into the exercises (Winnicott, 1965). Thus, there was a sense of playful and humorous creativity that allowed a space of focused awareness. This state of being was facilitated when people were able to 'play' and explore their experience with attention to both inner responses and perceptions as well as be

⁹ Suggesting continuous tactile stimulation, or combinations that are perceived as more 'usual' or habitual in no way detracts from Tim Ingold's (2000) theory of total sensory experience. In this instance I am assuming total sensory experience but also that a number of factors influence the degree to which we bring our conscious awareness to the different senses, and combinations of those senses. Sound and smell are stimuli that may be absent in all but very low levels in a way that touch, in particular, and vision can never be. With vision, apart from during sleep, illness or if there is impairment or blindness, there is constant stimuli. With touch if we are conscious we are subject to constant tactile stimulation from clothing, limbs touching, body temperature, air flow and so on. Hence, there is a more habitual beneath conscious awareness of the combined input of vision and touch than habitual awareness of the combination of sound and smell, which as sensory stimuli tend not to be associated with each other as an everyday continuum, unless deliberately sought out or imposed upon us. As Tess pondered above, she felt 'passive' in relation to smell and sound (see Gross, 1996 for discussion of sensory perception).

attentive to interaction with others: a state which very much echoes Winnicott's description of successful play (Winnicott 1971a: 46-48).

In the visual/tactile sessions movements of hands, fingers and body tended to be slow, with a great deal of smoothing, stroking or circular massaging interspersed with patting, as well as pouring of sand and water, all of which were similar to that observed in the tactile sessions. But the greatest difference was in the choice and emphasis in modelling materials and the interplay between colour, shape and touch, which dominated the sand and water session and continued into the landscape session. There was also a high level of emotional excitement and delight expressed, as Laura's feedback describes:

"I was really quite obsessed with making a, what started off as quite, kind of perfect, kind of even shape, erm, and from that I started making holes, I really liked kind of, the feeling of putting my fingers in the clay and making holes, and I started filling it with colour and then it got actually quite boring cos it was, it'd kind of gone past that, that tactile thing for me really, so I just started messing around with water, and I really liked I actually quite enjoyed destroying the initially, kind of quite, perfect controlled shape with, with the water kind of trickling down...erm..the sides of whatever this maybe. And I really like the blue, I thought the blue I've put the vivid blue, which is beautiful and I really wanted to catch some of that...." (Wk: 25498A1/460)

Laura describes her play between the feel of shapes in the clay and water, and the visual experience of colour as intense and 'beautiful'. She ended up finding a similar delight in the landscape visited in the next session and she described her landscape model in very similar terms. Using grey clay Laura made a model of her impressions of the limestone and the water, which emphasised the tactile smoothness and shape of the rock in striking visual contrast with the brilliant blue of the water (Fig.7.7).

The theme of intense connection with touching the sand, clay and water, mingled with delight in colour recurred in several people's models, in both materials and landscape sessions. For instance, Sue and Ruth, like Laura, became fascinated with colour at the same time as engaging with the textures and sensations of the sand and water. Sue, in particular, was excited by the possibilities of the materials, as well as the satisfaction in 'just feeling it':

“I started completely with the dry sand and..just went for the food colouring and just playing with that, then seeing what happened..when you poured water....on the dry sand soaked with the deep colour ... it kind of all sort of blended and was wonderful,....it's kind of all playing with accidents really.....so that the water could go flowing around and you could start mixing the colours, which of course you can't see now, so then there was just about feeling it ... cos there were still deep colours underneath and you could kind of uncover them and then make ... the water go in..great..but not very visual! ...I really..I'd go and get lots of these bottles and go to the seaside and let the waves do things..*(laughs)*....wicked!” (Wk: 25498A1/480)

During the visual workshop sessions both the interaction with materials and body language during the landscape visit had a quality of sensuality similar to that observed during the tactile workshop. People literally ‘made contact’ with the landscape with a much greater freedom than they had during the seaside visit. Shoes and socks were taken off, and people flung themselves onto the ground in whole body contact (see Fig. 7.8). Also throughout Day 3 there was an element of more or less contained delight and excitement, particularly in those participants who were most enthralled with colour. This excitement was of a different quality to the dynamic liveliness of sound and smell, in that participants were sharing an experience which, unlike sound, did not involve a dynamic outward communication. Participants observed that there has to be movement to produce sound. The perceiving of shape and colour that so fascinated Sue, Nora, Ruth and Laura, and the perceiving and experience of structure that absorbed Tess, Kath and Carol are processes that do not involve a dynamic sharing like sound or smell. In contrast to touch, seeing something is initially an internal, non-communicated experience, which participants then strove to communicate visually. This process did not bring out the lively body movement of sound. Instead, people went into a version of tactile dreaminess, similar to that described by Ruth on Day 2, only sometimes during the exercises, rousing themselves to share with other participants their delight with the colour and shape. Though some people, for example, Kath and Carol remained absorbed in their creations until the feedback. The effect, as I observed, recalled the quality of delighted attentiveness seen in children, or adults, watching theatre or a light show.

Dot was the only participant who found the day difficult, and for her the problem arose when she tried working with the combination of sand and water. She felt unable to connect to water, and consequently took time in the first exercise thinking of how to start exploring the materials. She eventually explored water and colour, using cotton swabs soaked in green colouring and avoided the sand. But for her, this ‘floundering’ appeared to be like being in water and not knowing how to swim. Not knowing how to connect with the water was emotionally distressing for Dot and she only moved away from this state later in the day during the landscape visit, after which she felt able to create a model mostly made with textiles and wood avoiding water all together.

Designing and playing with structure was the other process that emerged from the visual/tactile workshop. Nora, Tess, Kath, and Carol became deeply absorbed in exploring structure and colour, in which they tended to use dextrous, intricate hand movements (as opposed to shape and colour, which as I note above involved a high degree of tactile smoothing and stroking). All these women designed models, which showed colour contained in a structure ‘as if in a picture’. Carol found herself designing a model, so structured and “made” that she had felt it expressed her being ‘in a rut’. She felt she had not been able to take advantage of the opportunity to explore change and movement that sand and water presented, as she says:

“..predictable, like I feel like I’m in a rut...(laughs)....this rut comes down here and that rut coming there.... Erm..no it looks like something I made and I would’ve rather make something that looked like something I didn’t make, I’m not that deep (laughs).....[general laughter].. and the chance is here to sort of, things are always changing, moving, and sand is always, I mean the whole thing is just.. look at the sand getting wet, but I don’t, but erm, there’s always hope”. (Wk:25498A1/240)

In a later interview, Carol said that making this model had been frustrating. She would have liked to have been ‘messy’ and played with sand and water by just ‘chucking water over the sand’ in the same way as Sue had, putting sand and water in a bowl with colours and getting in touch with the feel of the sand and water. Carol felt in this exercise she had reverted back to her theatre set designer days and had approached the exercise as if she had been:

“given a problem and solved it in terms of constructing something, it was all pretty stacy I think..*(laughs)*..I thought, when I was thinking about that and thinking, “Oh god, can’t you just get away from it”. That’s when I felt, well maybe others couldn’t get away as well”. (Carol: 6598B/140)

Carol’s observation was highly perspicacious: that some others in the group were also ‘unable to get away from’ the visual aspect, which in these people seemed to draw out a need to express structure. They were unable to get away from, as she put it “seeing things in two dimensions”. She had found this element of her experience echoed in particular by Kath, who had constructed, what Carol saw as a ‘biological cell’, which she as regarded an expression of Kath’s studying biology at degree level: “she’s studying biology and she’s making slides” (Carol: 6598B/120). Indeed, Kath created a complex layered ‘cell-like’ structure in which she could visually explore the structure of the materials (Fig. 7.9):

“I just kind of played with the materials and it’s amazing what you can do with a little bit of cling wrap..*(laughs)*... and some water; just kind of let things do what they wanted, and let the materials show me how they worked, and what they were willing to do for me and what they weren’t. I think it’s interesting”. (Wk: 25498A1/300)

Tess and Nora both used plastic containers to hold different coloured water, in which like Kath they could discover ‘what happened’ when colour was touched moved and worked with. Both Nora and Kath had developed techniques in their material models that they then replicated in their landscape models later that day. Nora in her model of the lake used a washing up bowl to contain the colour of the water (Fig. 7.10). Kath used layers of clingfilm and clay in her model of limestone pavement. Laura also used some similar ideas in her landscape model to those she had explored in the earlier session. However, most other participants used very different techniques when modelling their visual/tactile experience of landscape from those they had used in the sand/water session. I shall discuss the differences in modelling techniques between participants in more detail in the following section.

The effect of bringing attention to visual awareness, even though moderated by tactile awareness, had the effect on these participants of moving them away from

the immediacy of physical connection. They found themselves not always willingly as in Carol's case, 'designing', 'constructing' and containing, as a means of 'working with' colour and shape, and thereby shifting away from a dynamic physicality with the materials. The body language was altogether more intricate, less boisterous and quieter than those of the group who connected with shape and colour by more abstract and tactile means. In the next section I examine the contrast observed between representational modelling and abstract modelling, a contrast that the visual emphasis tended to highlight, along with other aspects of relationships to landscape as expressed through the modelling.

7.3: Expressing relationship to landscape through the models

This section is concerned firstly, with the overall pattern of models that were made by members of the group as a whole during sessions of sandplay, material and landscape modelling. Secondly, I look at the major facets of individual expression of the relationship to landscape through the landscape models.

First, in terms of the overall pattern of models the most striking observation was the polarity between abstract impressionistic models, such as created by Tess and Tony, versus those that were predominantly representational, such as those created by Ann and John. Other participants created models that were more or less abstract or representational and varied between the two extremes at different times during the workshop. As I note above, the representational style was most apparent throughout the group in the visual/tactile session, where visual representation became more important than in previous workshops. The abstract or variants in between were most apparent in the tactile workshop, with an equal balance appearing in the sound/smell workshop. Thus the different emphasis between representational and abstract would indicate that highlighting different sensory experience tended to encourage differing degrees of abstraction or representation. Moreover, there would appear to be varying levels of susceptibility to sensory experience in each participant, according to the senses being explored and their preferences or affinities with each of the three landscapes visited. However, in this particular aspect of the research material, there appeared to be less evidence of gender influence affecting

either acknowledgement or expression of sensory experience. More obvious were individual preferences that related to perhaps less tangible intersections of age, health, personality and socio-cultural influence.¹⁰ The most striking features about the two extremes of modelling style - representational versus abstract - were observed by both myself and two of the volunteer helpers. In terms of representational modelling there were three major aspects that emerged; the 'god-trick', creative omnipotence, and understanding structure.

Ann's modelling, for example, during the sand/water session of the visual workshop, was typical of the representational style. In anticipation of the visit to Gait Barrows Nature Reserve in the afternoon, Ann made a representational model in sand, clay and water of her memory of a previous visit, on an environmental studies field trip. However, Ann's landscape model following the workshop visit was more impressionistic and abstract, suggesting that during her tactile-orientated visual experience she connected in a way that for her was unexpected. She communicated the experience using a more abstract modelling form, which was very different from that used to communicate her memorised previous visit - when I suggest Ann had been in her 'habitual' visual-orientated mode. Ann's sand and water model was dramatically different from her model of the landscape after the visit, an impression of the vegetation in the limestone grikes created largely from wood, bark and leaves. Ann had felt excited by the way she had modelled a representational form of Gait Barrows from memory of a visit of some years previously. Her excitement centred around the fact she felt she had 'replicated' natural processes. She sees the way the model has worked as something she has done which has 'gone mad':

"What's gone mad on this is that it's almost replicated the erosion over the hundreds and hundreds of years, because those were all full sized whatever it is polystyrene, they've moved away because of the sand and then they've just disintegrating into nothing." (Wk: 25498A1/540)

¹⁰ Health problems, for example, affected some participants reducing their mobility, hearing and vision. Personality type, as for instance, being a more timid versus a more forceful person may have affected the ways participants chose to walk in the landscape as well as ways they chose to express their experience.

Ann is both enthralled and slightly uncomfortable, or 'gone mad' at her success at replicating a natural process. John also tended to 'replicate' a place in a similar way to Ann, but in John's case he actively and almost without exception put himself 'in the landscape'. He appears as the 'little figure' by the pond, as the fisherman in his 'territory' (Fig. 7.11), as the man with 'cold eyes' in his material model on Day 1, and by the presence of the 'spent cartridge' in his sound/smell landscape model.¹¹ This form of representational modelling is reminiscent of the 'god-trick' described by Donna Haraway (1991) in which a predominantly visual culture takes on a stance of an all-seeing god-like eye, and which has amongst other elements a male-orientated, gendered aspect. In the kind of landscape representation, Ann, Ruth, Dot, and John, brought a variety of gender self-definition to their landscape perception (as discussed in Chapter Six). This suggested other processes at work alongside a stereotypical, gendered, 'god-trick', elements of which were observed in several other participants' models, and occasionally commented upon in feedback. Carol, for instance was very struck by John often having himself in the model 'overseeing his territory'.

A variant on the theme of the 'god-trick' emerged in models by Ruth, Ann and John, with their creation of 'miniature landscapes', or as Ruth calls one of her models a 'miniature garden' - like the ones she used to make for the village fete as a child. There seemed a sense of satisfaction in this representational style of modelling, which I associated with what I describe as 'creative omnipotence'. Such creative omnipotence is more akin to that experienced by a child at play delighting in 'making the world' and thereby exploring their feelings of omnipotence - regardless of whether boy or girl, self-defined and/or expressing cultural masculinities or femininities in that moment. This kind of play is described by Winnicott (1963a) as an important part of the process in the exploring of the relationship between Self and Other, or Not-Self. Winnicott (1963b) also describes the phenomenon of

¹¹ John's somewhat wry humour in his denoting the cartridge as 'spent' and the fisherman as 'stupid' felt quite painful to witness. As an elderly, retired man aware of no longer being in such good charge of his memory and faculties, his comments seemed a poignant reflection on his sense of himself these days in the landscape and his experience of being in touch with landscape: a reflection that had a greater edge when he spoke of how landscape was so deeply associated with the kind of physical

omnipotence fantasy as an integral process of early development, which once achieved means that:

‘The child is now not only a potential creator of the world, but also the child becomes able to populate the world with samples of his or her own inner life. So gradually the child is able to ‘cover’ almost any external event, and perception is almost synonymous with creation. Here again is the means by which the child gains control over external events as well as over the inner workings of his or her own self.’ (Winnicott, 1963b:91)

Thus, an exploration of creative omnipotence may not be entirely associated with masculinities of power, or necessarily be gendered play. Instead, the use of representational modelling in the ways described above, suggests that this important process initiated in childhood appears to have remained in adulthood as a powerful means by which to understand and continue to experience ‘control over external events’, or in this case, landscape.

I suggest, if continuing onwards from this theme of creative omnipotence, that representational modelling satisfies the need to understand the structure of the landscape and by this means ‘get in touch’ with the landscape, ‘connect’ with the sound, allow the smell to permeate or the visual colours to come alive. For instance, Kath modelled her limestone pavement representationally (Fig. 7.12). However, the process of the modelling - which for Kath echoed the process of the flow of water, which had shaped the limestone - was as important as an expression of her relationship to the landscape, as the finished product. Also the model was, unintentionally, interactive, which emphasised the ways in which the model informed the modeller and observers, by touch and visually about the nature of the landscape; points which came out in Kath and Nora’s exchange during the feedback:

Kath: “...just looking at the water coming out of the spring.. I was aware of where it’s coming from, ...very conscious of water flowing underneath,.. I have, like a love of the flow of water, but the area that affected me the most was the limestone, it looks quite bare and dry and stark and cold really, but

‘omnipotence’ he experienced as a young boy and a young man, able to swim, climb, and ride a bicycle tens of miles.

once you actually go and you walk on it you find out it's warm, and I was also again very aware of water running beneath it..

Nora: I didn't realise ...so there's water underneath that....Oh, I see if you squash it.....

Kath: And I did (pause) well, it doesn't really bother me that the water's leaked through because of the time when I was sitting out there I could also picture the time when it was covered by water as well, and it may well end up covered again. ... I was actually more aware of the water, and felt more of an interaction with the water than the limestone than when we went down to the lake. I felt more separate there." (Wk: 25498B1/140)

The way in which participants, such as Kath, worked with their models to 'understand' structure proved a highly successful way to communicate not only the experience of the place but also the person's understanding of the landscape structure. One of the volunteer helpers was deeply impressed:

Helper 1: "I thought the second one [Kath] did today of the limestone thing, I thought that was like so simple it just completely caught the essence of what it was like.....just total barren flat things with grooves in, I thought that's what it was". (Fb: 25498:2/080)

As I discuss below, abstract modelling was also a means to explore structure of landscape, but there were differences in the ways that structure seemed to be perceived and then expressed according to whether the participant worked representationally or abstractly in any given session. One of the volunteer helpers found the tension between the two forms especially intriguing. Her comments, in this extract from feedback at the end of Day 3, highlight the sense of disjunction that was sometimes observed between participants' body language and behaviour, while visiting the landscape and their subsequent modelling. The exchange, in the extract below, between these two helpers exemplifies the tension between representation and abstract expressions. As much as participants themselves worked between the two forms in varying degrees, such differences reflected the highly individual ways different people perceive landscape. These are differences, which as Helper 2 notes are hard to grasp:

Helper 2: "The thing I find most strange, this is really from my perspective, I'm really surprised how representational people get, I mean I consciously probably stray away from it but given that it's so much is based on feelings

and all that kind of stuff, it really surprised me how representational, like so.....

Helper 1: It was visual today though wasn't it?

Helper 2:..Yes, but visual doesn't have to be representational. People were really physically bonding with the limestone rock, so for me I find it interesting that people come back and find it quite easy to make a little landscape..”

(Fb: 25498:2/080)

As Helper 1 notes, ‘it was visual today’; suggesting she would consider the visual to naturally encouragement representational expression. But, as Helper 2 queries, a visual emphasis does not have to result in representational modelling. From observing people’s behaviour whilst visiting a landscape, I could never predict how they might express their perception in their models. Any prediction I might make, in a passing thought, would after all be a reflection of my own cultural bias. For example, thoughts I might have about how people would respond and work with materials were often initially influenced by cultural gender stereotyping or derived from pre-conceptions I might have about how people ‘ought’ to behave when aware of certain senses. Indeed, most of my preconceptions or predictions were upended in the face of what actually happened. Largely, this came about because the reality proved to be a complex interaction between culture and the individual personality, in which, self-definition played a major part. Thus, predictable elements of cultural gender or sensory perception were sometimes not apparent at all, or if present were more or less obvious in unpredictable ways.

For instance, I was aware of my background preconception, that participants would produce mostly representational models, along the miniature landscape line. This was a personal bias, and perhaps arose from my own childhood experience in infant school during the 1950s. Like Ruth, I too, had spent many happy hours, particularly in ‘Bible Study’ classes modelling biblical scenes by making 3D miniature gardens and miniature deserts, complete with sand and ‘real’ plasticine camels and leafy palm trees. However, the models of my own childhood were representations of mental images or fantasies, which were not necessarily informed by immediate sensory experience of the place. I had never been to a desert or

touched, smelt or heard a camel, although my models were informed by sensory experience of both the materials used and existing memories of gardens.

Such a representational form arising from a set of mental images and fantasies, rather than an immediacy of sensory experience, is very similar to Ann's model of her memorised environmental studies visit to Gait Barrows. Ann modelled what she called a 'replica' to express her cognitive interpretation of the geology and geography, as well as her mental image of the place, albeit informed by existing memories. In distinct contrast however, when Ann was invited to be aware of her sensory experience during the workshop visit, she produced an abstract model, which as she explains below drew out a highly detailed and intense expression of her experience of the limestone pavement.

"That's my portrayal of a section of the limestone pavement...I spotted the bark and it's quite fascinating, that the bark reflects the stone, and so it was quite an obvious one to use, I put some clay to smooth parts where the wind had smoothed the stone, tried to get the crevices and this erm..sometimes it's the starkness of the little saplings that are beginning to grow..... sometimes there's a quite a bit of green there, just a straight..... and then I've done the little pond and the crevices and green stuff on them like we'd seen...(laughs).. the overall feeling about the place, I think it was the wind.....you know how the wind smooths the stone and how the sides of the crevices are still very rough but at the same time they're smoothed around them as well, that's what I noticed". (Wk:25498B2/060)

For Ann, I suggest her form of modelling landscape appeared to vary between representational and abstract forms, depending upon the immediacy of her sensory experience in relation to the place. However, other participants demonstrated that there was no clear relationship between the use of representational or abstract forms versus the degree of awareness or immediacy involved in the landscape experience. In fact, in this group a representational form of modelling was used far *less* often than an abstract form, but there were clear preferences between the two forms, regardless of the apparent intensity of the experience. Ruth, for instance, was adamant during the landscape session on Day 3 that she would be using a representational form. As she says in this exchange between Laura and Nora:

Ruth: "Well I don't want to work in the abstract....

Laura: Well don't then.

Ruth: No I'm not going to.

Nora:..You don't want to what?

Ruth: I don't want to be Impressionist..." (Wk: 25498B2/ 040)

However, Ruth's model did end up as more of an impression than this exchange might have predicted, although she did not stray far from her characteristic use of a miniature garden style. In this way the approaches taken by both Ruth and Ann reflected a personal preference for 'organising' and 'replicating' their pre-conception of a place in its component parts: place as garden or place as geological site. But, especially for Ann, the immediacy of the sensory experience overrode her wish to understand the landscape through an organising principle, and she found herself using an impressionistic style which, for her, more accurately communicated her sensory experience.

Other participants, such as John, did stay within one form, and the relationship to the kind of sensory experience involved was not immediately apparent. John, for example, was as likely to use representational modelling in his imaginary landscapes as in modelling his immediate experience of a particular place. He spoke of his quite intense feelings being on Gait Barrows, but then made a model that was the most representational of all the models that day, to the point that another participant noted his model resembled a map (see Fig. 7.13). Possibly for John, though, his total sensory experience was accessible to *himself* through a representational form even if this proved to be predominantly visual for other participants. For instance, he could model his map, or his seaside scene, and for him each texture or colour in the model would stimulate a sensory image or memory, a point he suggested in his feedback about his map of Gait Barrows. Dot tended to produce abstract models when exploring a sense through materials but her landscape models veered towards the mix of representational and abstract. In her woodland model she modelled her experience of the track, placing slices of potato in the sand,

which very effectively echoed her arthritic struggle with the help of a walking stick, up an uneven path. Participants needed only to touch the model and feel the dips and hillocks to have a sense of Dot's experience.

In every one of her three landscape models Sue created a structure of the landscape that was visually representational and then modelled in strongly interactive and abstract elements, in order to effectively communicate her sensory experience. For example, in her model of the seaside, which was a visual representation, the way she had used the materials meant that when participants touched the model, they were enabled to have a sense of Sue's experience of spaciousness and emptiness of the wide seascape. There were differences, seen throughout the group, in the degree of detail and engagement with the materials between models of imaginary landscapes or distant memories of landscapes, and models of landscapes we visited, when there was a deliberate emphasis on tactile as well as other sensory awareness. These differences suggested that, for many participants, the greater the immediacy of engagement in sensory awareness the more detailed the modelling became in relation to communicating the precise experience. Many of these details of people's landscape experiences were not only expressed through the modelling materials, or form but also emerged in verbal feedback, as seen in Ann's description above.

Apart from the exceptions outlined above, abstract or impressionistic modelling accounted for the vast majority of the work completed throughout the workshops. I suggest that the use of impressionistic style may have been a result of the nature of the perception of sensory experience for each individual. For instance, the blur of colour, sound and smell; a million sensory inputs falling into one person's consciousness, when translated into a visual tactile expression might emerge as abstract. Whereas, for other people the same experience might be expressed as a representational and/or interactive model. The abstract medium, in particular, allowed for a great deal of variety in both use of materials in the models and in the innovative modelling techniques, as well as the use of differing degrees of abstraction which facilitated the successful communication and sharing of the landscape experience. For example, Sue was not alone in using a mix of

representational and abstract forms. Dot, Laura and Carol also created semi-impressionistic models, which whilst appearing at first glance to be verging on representational were described during feedback in abstract terms.

Carol's limestone pavement appears to be representational at first glance, but then the eye is drawn to the multitude of strings set across the clay 'clints and grikes' of the limestone (Fig 7.14). On touching the model the fingers are drawn to follow the strings over and around the rough clay. In this way Carol enabled a vivid sharing of her experience of the limestone landscape, which she describes as less an expression of her 'senses', more her sense of 'the strings of time':

Carol: "Oh well not really to do with the senses or anything but I was just struck by the sense of time..hm.these little strings of time and the more water you put on it the more time pops up erm..*[laughs]* ..these little green bits were vegetable time and that's rock time, and those are burnt matches at the bottom..that's it.

A: ..That's time as well?

Carol: Yeah...spent time..*[laughs]*..I think it was also the sort of, the seeing, the sensing, of things was almost too much....particularly on the limestone, this sense of huge distance or extreme time came through things much more.. which I liked..." (Wk:25498B2/120)

Carol in this instance, feeling overwhelmed by the sensing of things, shifted into mental abstract, which she communicated via a semi-impressionistic model.

Laura occasionally used some representational elements, but mostly for her the emphasis was in the interactive element of the model, which an abstract form could easily facilitate. With both her landscape models, on Day 1 of the seaside and Day 3 of the limestone and lake, Laura created the 'texture' and 'feel' of the place in highly effective ways, capturing what she described as the 'chaos' of the seaside in a complex of driftwood, thread and pebbles. On Day 3 Laura created such a successful rendering of the textures of the limestone, the smoothing action of the water, and the rough reeds by the lake's edge, that her model was compelling to touch. Thus, she inadvertently encouraged the participants to interact with and reproduce some of

their own experience through contact with her model (as seen in Fig.7.7 referred to on p.208). However, out of the whole group only Tess tended to produce almost totally impressionistic models. Her style was often an extraordinarily evocative sensory expression of the landscape, as seen in her model of the limestone pavement surrounded by spring trees made out of sheep's wool and velvet (Fig. 7.15). For Tess, using an abstract form was the most effective way to share her highly sensual experience of landscape, an experience she describes in her final interview as a 'narrative of sensations' (Tess: 10598/180).

Within the tension between one form of expression or another, gender differences did not appear to play much part. The key element would seem to be highly individualised preferences between which form appealed at any moment; or was felt most appropriate for a particular sensory expression in a materials or landscape model, or a form to which someone felt accustomed. For example, Sue and Laura explained they felt comfortable with particular styles in the context of being semi-professional artists, or in Carol's case she at times felt she was following a 'rut' as an ex-theatre designer, and was happiest moving away from 'designed' representational models, into a more abstract form.

However, gender differences were more apparent in the ways in which people went out, explored and or interacted with landscape, and the kinds of elements and descriptives they chose to express their perception of landscape. It is to this final area of landscape perception that I now turn.

7.4: Self-defining perception and experience of landscape

The concept of self-definition is not considered to be the sole preserve of gender identity. Below I explore how participants' relationship to landscape was also self-defined, and how this relationship was intricately enmeshed with the self-definitions of gender identity. The two areas I examine are firstly, the elements of landscape that were noticed and focused upon by participants; by 'elements of landscape' I mean the constituents of landscape, for example, different landforms, vegetation, water, air and rock. Secondly, I look at the descriptives associated with

different landscapes, meaning the ways that participants described a place, or a memory of place. I examine not just the kinds of descriptives used, but also the emotions associated with particular experiences of landscape generally and/or a specific place.

7.4.1: Elements of landscape

In this section I look at the elements of landscape that were evoked and described, that were liked, ignored or rejected by participants both during workshops and during verbal reflection or feedback. The aim in this section is to examine the relationship between participants and landscape elements, and by doing so continue to explore areas that are accessible to gender influence. As I demonstrate in the list of primary and secondary codes in chapter 4, for the purposes of the analysis I grouped the elements into eight separate categories ranging from wood, plants and gardens to animals, earth and hills. For the purposes of the interpretation, I refer to these categories in examining the kinds of associations with particular elements and the context within which different elements were mentioned in interviews or modelled during the workshops. In the workshops references to different elements were related to specific landscapes. From this aspect how much certain elements were referred to in the first interview was significant as to how much an element was either part of an individual's memory or how much personal affinity that person had with a particular element. This was true of reference to some elements above others during the workshops, and in the second interview references that emerged out of childhood or adult recollections unrelated to workshop exercises or site visits. I look at the ways by which people had related to and/or continued to relate to different elements; for instance, by physical interaction such as tree climbing, or by visual sensory interaction such as looking at a sunset. I include mental/emotional appreciation of elements of landscape: where people liked to 'read' the human or geological history of a landscape, as seen for instance, in Ann's 'reading' of Gait Barrows (Duncan & Duncan, 1988; Duncan, 1991; Barnes & Duncan, 1992).

Notably, in the interviews the elements of landscape that were mentioned related to either, childhood and adult memories of landscape, imaginary landscapes,

or stereotypical images (see Chapter 5). Some references, though, were to immediately present elements, since in most cases, because I had gone to the participant's house to interview them, reference was made to the landscape we were looking at through the window. Ann and Tess, for example, specifically pointed out how important the trees were to them that grew in or beyond the edge of their gardens. Dot commented somewhat unhappily on the location of her garden, and problems of an intrusive newly-built neighbour's garage. Tony remarked on the mere crack of a view he had of the sky in his street, barely visible through his front window. During the workshops the emphasis of different elements related mostly to the landscapes that were visited. However, during modelling sessions references were also made to imaginary or remembered landscapes.

Wood, in particular trees, was the most frequently mentioned of all the elements, followed by other vegetation, such as gardens, hedges, greenery and flowers, often named by species and type. Every single participant referred, sometimes repeatedly, to trees or a favourite tree in their childhood and adult memories of landscape. When, in the first interview, they were asked the question: 'what comes to mind when you hear the word 'landscape?'' invariably trees were part of their image. Regardless of gender identity this green, woody category came through time after time, more than hills, rocks and earth, and in most cases more than water, streams and rivers. As I note in Chapter Five, for some people, trees more than other woody/green vegetation, held deeply sacred or 'numinous' properties, and were the stuff of childhood stories and cultural myth (see Tess's comments in Chapter 5). But these were not the only meanings and significance of trees. Trees were noticed in some cases because of their prominence in a particular landscape. Tess, Nora and Kath, all vividly recalled either one or more than one 'special' tree or trees that had stayed in their memory from childhood. As prominent features in a place, trees appear for some people to be an object upon which they can confer significance (Spirn, 1998). Laura Rival (1998) notes the propensity for humans to confer profound symbolism upon trees. She cites Durkheim's (1976) thesis that people have an 'urge to express ideas through external and material signs' (Rival, 1998:1). As an interesting corollary to Winnicottian theory Rival goes on to suggest

therefore, that the relationship between, for instance, trees and humans is 'dialectical', or in other words a relationship between 'subject and object'. In Winnicottian terms trees can become transitional objects in both childhood, as some participants indicated, but also for adults. Geoff, for example, admitted he had a clearer memory of the woodland and the trees of his childhood than he had of his mother's face or his relationship with her. Thus he says of his mother "my early relationship with my mother I couldn't.....is a sort of blank" (Geoff:5598B:2/020). Whereas of the local woods he says:

" I do sometimes recall I sometimes run through my mind the pathways and rides that I went on and the trees that I ... I mean I can remember them all very well as one does with childhood things and I just amuse myself sometimes by running through that those memories..places. ..I can remember lots of things that I did then..and even specific trees that I climbed..and streams that I dammed.. [and with his brother] .. fighting and stuff like that, those things are much more clear memories than ermm anything that I had with my father or my mother really.." (Geoff: 5598B:2/060)

Geoff also notes that as a child he 'saw trees very differently, than now as an adult' where he 'works' with trees and can 'name them'. His experience suggests he related to trees as though they were a transitional object, and/or 'mother'. Geoff as a boy could 'bond' with trees or use them to mediate his relationship between Self and Other. (These phenomena are well documented by Winnicott (1971a). From an adult perspective Geoff related to trees as if they were just objects to utilise and categorise. The differences in child versus adult ways of relating to local landscape/environment are also observed by Aitken (1994).

Furthermore, as Rival (1998) argues, trees are not chosen randomly as objects to be projected upon; trees are part of a nature which is as independent of human life as much as human life is dependent upon it and vice versa. There may be some pertinent reasons why trees more than almost any other element of landscape have this transitional object status conferred upon them. For example, as often large, static, yet living biological entities trees can readily become powerful symbols of life and eternity (Rival, 1998). Mature native trees, such as oaks, beech or chestnut, were noted by several participants as especially significant in this regard, in particular by

Sue, Nora and Tess. Trees in this instance were seen to bring particular atmosphere and significance to different aspects or areas of landscape. Sue expresses the power of the atmosphere of woodland very succinctly in this extract:

“..there’s something very powerful for me about woodland, it’s the one thing that I really miss and like to sort of envelop myself in whenever I get a chance and it’s just to actually be in that kind of space, which..how can I describe it I mean, it’s sort of darkish, not totally dark, but there’s a feeling of ermm, you’re in, in somewhere dark with the light filtering through, and you’re sort of surrounded by things, like there’s a total surround of space, it’s not like it’s open to the sky, so there, there’s something that I like about that”. (Sue: 19398A/040)

Sue draws strongly on the element of space afforded by the special atmospheric quality of woodland, but in this instance a ‘space’ that envelops and surrounds rather than that described by Carol below, where space is associated with emptiness and wilderness. However, in terms of the importance of trees, as significant elements of landscape, there seemed to be no marked gender influence. However, gender differences emerged very strongly as soon as people described their associated activities around trees.

For example, Sue, Geoff, John and Laura noted that forests and woods were especially important in childhood, because they represented the freedom to play and happy memories were recalled of climbing trees or running in the woods. Carol, rather less vigorously, but still as part of playing with the boys, had vivid memories of skiing and walking in the pine forests in the Rocky Mountains. Carol, Sue and Laura were all self-defined tomboys and the two men had firmly aligned themselves as boys with ‘rough and tumble’ rugged, ‘boys’ own’ masculinities. Trees, then in their childhood world had been an integral part of their ‘gendered’ activities, and the gendered ways they had related to the landscape. Trees as ‘playthings’ were almost exclusively associated with cultural masculinities of the ‘tomboy’, or ‘rugged boys’ playing’ variety. For Tess, having the courage to climb a tree was a determining factor in whether she could call herself a tomboy or not. As she recalled:

“it was a kind of disappointment, I turned out not to be as tough as I thought I was when I was trying to climb trees, I mean ..as a kid... I tried to climb a tree in the park at Walney. I got about two foot off the ground and was paralysed with fright....I suppose I was...about nine or ten really, it wasn't till I was about seventeen and clambering about in the library at the grammar school, on top of the shelves, decorating it up for a party, that I realised that after five minutes you stop being grieyed that you're going to drop off and you sort of walk around, and I thought, “my god, if I'd only known that when I was ten, I could have been a real tomboy”. (Tess:10598B:2/080)

Trees, as a source of wood to be made use of, also carried a charge of cultural masculinities. As noted in Chapter Five and Chapter Six, Geoff epitomised this association by noting the male-dominated timber, coppicing and wood-working industry. Ann, as I note in Chapter Six, regarded herself playing with wood at her father's work bench as an example of her, as a female in 1940s rural England, having crossed cultural gender bounds doing a task normally assigned as male. Yet, in the course of the workshops, working with wood was an activity that both men and women of all versions of self-definition engaged in at different times, and in various ways. Although the body language varied, the ways in which the wood was worked repeatedly crossed cultural bounds, suggesting that self-definition overrides stereotypical behaviour, and perhaps to some extent changing attitudes to gender roles and activities.

In stark contrast to the maleness attributed to working with wood, garden and flower elements seemed have been assigned a version of cultural femininities, with the exception of gardens in relation to memories of tomboyish playing out as children (see Chapter Five and Six). But equally, gardens were often referred to as places which represented a place of safety and secure play for girls, noted by Dot; or as noted by Nora and John, a tamed and domesticated nature. John especially liked what he called ‘landscaped’ gardens, and in his first sandplay model he created what he termed a ‘Chinese garden’. As noted earlier in this chapter, such preferences perhaps reflect John's affinity with the representational, ‘miniature garden’ realm. Dot and Ruth both pointed out that flowers were deemed as suitable and appropriate for women to be involved in working with, although equally John tended to notice and name flowers out in the landscape. But as Carol noted her mother, rather than

her father, was in charge of the garden, whereas her father took her and her brother out for 'male-defined' adventures in the wilderness. Gardens and greenery were also referred to, in terms of being signifiers of having contact with 'nature', a point noted by Tess and Ann. For many participants, 'greenery and flowers' were an integral part of landscape. But there were notable exceptions such as Kath, Carol, Laura and Geoff. Carol, for example, regarded the 'green' and/or 'garden' aspect of landscape to be a phenomenon peculiar to England. As an American she noted that her experience was of landscape either being a huge wilderness, or the back yard of suburban 1950s America. Kath echoed these images, with her experience of being a child in the 1990s suburban landscape of an American city, but also having spent time in desert wilderness in Nevada.

References to water were also frequent, and in the first interview, water was almost entirely associated with activities, either recalled in childhood, adult events or in relation to particular places people enjoyed visiting. In this way, water, true to its own fluid form, appeared to have a fluidity of association. Water was able to be a site of male-defined or female-defined activities depending on the individual, the activity, the time or the place. Also a range of properties were conferred upon it, some male-defined, some female. Water, as discussed in Chapter Five, did have some 'numinous' or 'special' quality for some people for instance John, Tess and Ruth variously described the 'magical' qualities of the spring on Day 3. For others, such as Tony and Geoff, water represented and held memories of a medium through which they had enacted cultural masculinities: for Geoff as a boy 'damming the streams', and for Tony swimming in 'all male' competitive sports. Water was unique amongst the elements of landscape in having the quality of 'being all things to all people'. This phenomenon is noted by Mircea Eliade (1957:130) who describes water as symbolising a 'reservoir of all the possibilities of existence'. (Such symbolism is perhaps unsurprising given that from the most basic physical perspective our bodies are three-quarters water, and all biological processes are reliant on water as a solvent and transport medium). In Western cultural myth water is often referred to in female terms. Janet & Colin Bord, for example, in their study of landscape myths in Britain, found that 'river spirits.. often, though not invariably,

seem to have been women' (and not all benevolent by any stretch of the imagination) and they suggest that this female association may have been part of 'vague memories of river goddesses' which appears to have its origins in pre-Christian times (Bord & Bord, 1995: 28). The disparity between participants' multifarious references to water and the power of the gendered cultural myth reflects the fluidity and ease with which water is imbued with individual or cultural attributes. Thus, water more than other elements highlights the ease with which all of landscape and its constituent elements are invested with individual and cultural significance, and have gender or neutrality conferred upon them according to an individual's self-definition and relationship to cultural stereotypes and myths.

Rocks, hills and mountains occupied a particularly compelling place in some people's images and experience of landscape. For Dot and John only mountainous landscapes were 'exciting'; flat landscape had no interest, hence they both tended to notice and draw attention to hills and 'rolling' landscape. Perhaps, for this reason too, John was particularly 'taken' with Geoff's 'rugged' mountainous sandplay model on Day 1. As discussed in Chapter Six, this was representative of a version of 'rugged' cultural masculinities. Carol, Ruth, Sue and Ann also made frequent reference to rocky earthforms. For all these women the elements of earth, mountains, hills, soil, sand and mud had significance, both as essential constituents of places that had been part of intense sensory experience as children, such as noted by Sue; or because, as Carol intimated, earth and rocks were integral with landscapes that commanded attention. Yet, although Carol associated these elements with male-defined activities, she did not assign masculinity to this element. As noted in Chapter Five, Carol regarded all landscape as neutral. For Ruth, as she said on Day 3 after the limestone pavement visit, the way rocks and stones exposed the structure of landscape gave her the sense that these 'earth' elements of landscape were the skeleton over which the vegetation could grow 'like a skin'. In this way this element represented some instructive or directive quality for her. Perhaps, as an echo of her relationship with her father, with whom she had had little positive experience except in the context of going out with him into the landscape to 'read' the features and be shown how landscape was formed. Thus, for Ruth, understanding the geological

history had, as a child, allowed her to connect with the 'life' in her father, but as an adult continued to allow a connection with a powerful sense of life beneath the surface, the earth as living being, exemplified by her fascination with volcanoes:

"..everything is geology, everything on the planet, everything we do, where we live, everything is just governed by geology, ... I mean it's not the first time I thought about this but, I, when I look at the landscape for real,..I see, it's as if.. the outside the green, the grass and the trees, they're just like a skin, they're like clothing to it, and in my mind's eye I quite often sort of peel that off and I kind of see what's underneath, and it's like a living thing to me very much. I kind of see the earth very much kind of like a, I don't know, like a living, breathing animal sort of thing, and somehow this business with the volcanoes cos the volcanoes is another obsession of mine that I've had since I was a child, and it's something to do with it being erm.....I think a volcano is the most obvious aliveness of geology". (Wk:25498A1/420)

Awareness of earth, rock type elements was thus not necessarily related to the types of landscape visited during the workshop, but deeply reflected an individual's association with the different elements. During the seaside visit, whilst rocks and sand proved especially compelling for some people, air, spaciousness and or the sea itself made more impact with other people. Thus there proved to be no predictable areas of association.

Generally, references to wood, greenery, earth and water frequently had a universal quality. Not only by dint of being mentioned by everyone, in some cases in greater detail than others, but also these references often had a wealth of associations, or were more deeply bound into mythic and stereotypic images of landscape - as discussed in Chapter 5. In contrast, spontaneous references to air and space, such as occurred in the first workshop, were elements that emerged with definite individual associations, in the same way as references to animals, fire, and metal seemed to rely more on particular individual memory, affinity or preference. For example, air and space had a special association for Carol, in terms of representing a powerful memory of landscape that, had more personal than cultural significance - although her experience is integral to her socio-cultural context of 1950s' America:

“my memories would be white, in a space with white, and this wonderful sky..ermm, and then at that time we, quite often, my brother, and father and I would go to Utah, or Wyoming or Idaho or something, in the summer, so it would be in the car looking at this vast..*(laughs)*..vast area of Western America and sagebrush and things and then ermm.....I suppose my sense of landscape then outside the home would have been in a car looking at..*(laughs)*....yards, yards and just miles of sky and flat earth”.

(Carol: 8498A/120)

Sue, Tony and Laura all expressed an affinity with air, space and emptiness, and tended to strongly associate those elements with preferred landscapes. Sue loved the ‘freedom and space’ offered by the countryside, and Tony recalled a similar enjoyment as a teenager cycling out on the Lincolnshire Fens. But as he says, this is a stark contrast to the restrictions of the urban view he now has as an adult:

“I’m..feeling like that there’s this great expanse of sky all the time, it is, it is quite flat and you see the half circle, the half semi-sphere of sky a lot of the time and that light really, lot of brightness, hmm, well in this kind of environment it’s being a town it’s like just cracks on top of streets and.....it’s restricting somehow.” (Tony: 19498A/240)

Notably, the association of air and space in terms of activities for Sue, Laura, Tony and Carol was predominantly connected with cultural masculinities, as elements that represented being out adventuring, being ‘free to roam’ in the landscape. But this was not a general feeling for other members of the group. Air and space were referred to most during the first workshop, when participants were in tactile mode, and full of the seaside experience, but there was no sense of a gendering of air and space at that point of immediate sensory experience. However, several people, who had not previously referred to air and space as significant, in any way, were deeply impressed by the element of air and spaciousness experienced at Sunderland Point.

Of the remaining elements referred to by participants, fire, metal, buildings and animals, only buildings were consistently mentioned as significant in landscape. Considering that everyone in the group had all their lives been more or less surrounded or in close contact with buildings of one sort or another, quite apart from the fact of buildings as dwelling places, this lack of significance was marked. When buildings were mentioned the references were of definite types, such as, part of a

rural image like Nora's 'little white cottages' in the Lake District. Buildings were also regarded as a necessary part of urban life, but not especially described or imbued with as much interest as elements of landscape that were seen as 'natural'. The exception to these images of buildings arose in the first interview with Geoff, in which he talked about his fascination with architecture. He said that he loved to examine old buildings and in particular the ways wood was used to carve and create doorways and so on. In this way, Geoff's awareness of buildings in this context was part of his professional interest as a woodworker and chairmaker, and thus reflected a special personal interest. In general though there was a utilitarian, pragmatic attitude to buildings, and I suggest this echoes the utilitarian nature of buildings, and the fact that a building is not considered a 'natural' element. In other words, as with water which is defined and experienced by its fluid quality and its power as a biological medium for all of life's processes, so the building is defined in terms of human artefact and (not to be underestimated) important utility.

Individual experience appeared to be a strong factor in terms of reference to animals. Some participants, such as Ruth, Carol, and to some extent John tended to be most observant of birds, wild or domesticated animals, naming species and talking about the place of animals in the landscape. In contrast other people, such as Tony, Geoff, Laura and Kath made no more than passing reference to animals. These preferences seemed uninfluenced by gender differences, self-defined or otherwise. A similar pattern was seen in relation to fire and metal. Notably the three participants who made the most reference to fire and metal were Dot, John and Ann, all of whom had lived through WW2. In particular, Dot had survived an air raid in which a bomb had exploded the local gas works, a frightening event, which she vividly recounted during her interview. This episode had been the deciding factor for her parents to evacuate the whole family to Derbyshire for the remaining war years. Ann recalled nights watching Liverpool being blitzed, a sight that was painfully visible from the rural village in which she lived. John had also witnessed the 'dog fights' over Epping Forest as a teenager. Beyond these precise events, in terms of elements, metal was rarely referred to by other people, except to remark on the presence or not of 'metal' traffic. (For example Tony's use of tin in his model to portray traffic). Metal was

also mentioned as part of transport systems in the landscape such as bicycles, trains or boats. As for fire, Nora referred to the London Blitz. She was born right at the end of WW2 and in her early childhood heard stories of the London Blitz. Only two participants referred to fire-like elements as part of the 'natural' landscape. Ruth, admitted her 'obsession' with volcanoes, and Geoff recalled as a boy, chasing the fire-engines on his bicycle when there were forest fires near his home. There was one other context in which fire was a feature, that of a dream that Sue recounted in the final interview, discussed in the last section 7.5.

Awareness of certain elements of landscape emerged as an intricate mix of highly individualised preferences, built out of personal and cultural histories and influence. The influence of gender appeared dependent on the degree to which an element or group of elements tended to be associated in an individual's mind or experience with perceived cultural masculinities or femininities. From these references to elements of landscape I now move to another aspect of landscape experience: looking at the ways landscape was described by participants.

7.4.2: Descriptives of landscape

The kinds of adjectives used to describe landscape are explored in this section. People's descriptions are seen to express a whole range of experience and perception some with intimations and unconscious reference to early childhood connections as well as aspects of present adult perception, including cultural inferences.

In the first interview, a number of cultural stereotypes were predominant, in particular in the images that people produced when asked to describe their understanding of 'landscape'. These images were often cinematic and fantastical, at times as if describing a 'golden age', and with almost religious fervour. Over half of the participants, particularly the women (regardless of their gender self-definition), used the words 'beautiful' and 'wonderful' in many cases repeatedly, in particular when recalling childhood memories, and also when relating images that arose from fantasy landscapes. But this nexus of cultural myth was also infused and in dynamic

interrelation with highly individualised emotion, attachments and preferences for places. This aspect of the relationship between individual participants and landscape comes through in frequent use of words such as; 'fascination', 'love', 'lovely', 'idyllic', and 'fabulous', all of which supported the extreme almost mythical quality of the childhood and or adult recollections of 'favourite' places. Laura and Tony referred to 'inspiring' landscapes, or that certain landscapes were an 'inspiration'; Nora found herself 'overwhelmed', and both she and Tess were impressed by the 'magic' or 'mystery' of a place. Ruth described some places as 'divine', 'breathtaking', 'amazing'. The experience conveyed by these words is reminiscent of symbolism drawn on when echoing various (positive) unconscious sensory memories or fantasies of earliest infancy. Such fantasies can be described collectively, in Ruth's terms, as being in the presence of the 'divine', or in Winnicottian terms, in a state of 'unintegration' or being at one with the landscape in a way which resonates with the image of the infant at the merged 'with-mother/carer' stage (Davis & Wallbridge, 1981). These images of landscape are also similar to Christopher Bollas's (1993:40) description of what has been described by Bernard Berenson (1950) as 'the aesthetic moment'.¹² This moment is when an individual is in 'deep rapport' between Self and Object: a moment that Bollas associates with 'sacred, reverential' feelings, that are 'outside cognitive coherence.' Bollas relates these moments directly back to the early 'holding and handling' of infancy, where communication 'took place solely through the illusion of deep rapport of subject and object' (1993:41).

This important aspect that emerged in the first interview was accentuated by increasingly direct descriptions that suggested the landscape can be imbued with the status of the 'holding/facilitative environment' of mother or carer/father. Thus descriptives used may offer some insight into the connection between early relationship to mother and how this impacted on the subsequent adult relationship with landscape (Winnicott, 1967b). In this vein, Carol accentuated how landscape

¹² Bollas refers the reader also to Marion Milner's work from whom the concept of an aesthetic moment was derived. Milner (1993) in turn attributes the term to Bernard Berenson (1950) who as Milner cites, regards such a 'moment' to be 'a fleeting instant' where a person is 'at one' with the landscape, building etc. and once they 'recover' normal 'consciousness' feel as if they have been initiated into 'illuminating, formative mysteries' (in Milner, 1993: 27).

‘captivated’ and she could feel ‘protected’ by a place. Ruth re-iterated being in ‘acquaintance’ with places that were ‘part of you’. Geoff was also able to feel ‘part of a place’. Although, as I note below this was the fullest extent of Geoff’s imagery around landscape, possibly an echo of his ‘blank’ mothering experience. Ruth also referred to the local hills of her childhood as a ‘hollow cradle’ and how they ‘protected you’, suggesting unconscious reference to the ‘holding’ experience of infancy. The sense of being enclosed or held by landscape was a strong image that emerged in a number of participants. Kath referred positively to ‘secluded’ landscape. Sue, as noted above, experienced a positive sense of being ‘enveloped in’ the woods the forest. Tess referred to landscapes that were ‘enclosed, safe zone[s]’. John, who recalled having experienced a great deal of loving support from his mother, rarely referred to landscape, during this first interview in anything other than glowing terms: ‘marvellous, lovely, wonderful’.

Counter to these positive images of landscape there were various less ‘idyllic’ unifying descriptions. Carol recounted ‘frightening’ times in landscape, noting ‘awful’ and ‘grim’ places full of ‘unbearable degradation’. Tess also talked about her awareness of the ‘hazards’ in places. Sue described her negative associations with being ‘enclosed’ in ‘gloomy, dark’ pine woods, and like Carol referred to environmental damage and the ‘horrendous motorways.’ But, in the first interview the positive associations far outnumbered the negative, and also only Carol or Sue made any notable reference to environmental pollution or damage to the landscape. In terms of negative connotations of landscape, Winnicottian object relations theory would presume beyond obvious actual frights from being a small child in a large expansive landscape, that there were unconscious fantasies that were being recalled which related to impingement of and/or an actual failed early infant environment. Interestingly Carol, who described the most fearful landscapes of all the participants, also recalled the most difficult relationship with her mother of any of the other participants (see Chapter Six: ‘we were not made of the same stuff’). Sue, also had a number of powerful tussles with her mother that were at times complex and difficult, and equally her landscape imagery was markedly a mix of extremes: either ‘wild’ and ‘free and unfettered’ or safely enclosed alternating with descriptions of gloomy,

uncomfortable enclosure. Geoff, more than any other participant remembered the least of his mother. As if in tandem to this lack of any memorable or rich bond, Geoff was the least effusive in his descriptive language of landscape. He described his early relationship to both his parents as 'blank', instead, he felt he had related mostly with his older brother. His landscapes were often those in which elements were 'named' and categorised. Richness of emotional experience seemed to be a 'blank'. I suggest that the descriptions of landscape at this first interview were particularly cogent in terms of offering insights into the connections between an individual's first experience of mother/carer and their subsequent fantasies and personal stereotyped images. I contend that these images were, through the workshop exercises, open to the 'transformatory potential' of creative interaction through the immediacy of sensory perception, as described by Bollas (1992).

This kind of transformatory shift in the quality of landscape descriptives was observed in the course of the workshops but especially in the second interview. The shift in the workshops followed a predictable pattern: descriptives were very clearly and directly related to the various sensory experiences. Since I have already discussed the major points in some detail in Section 7.2, I shall not re-iterate my findings. However, suffice to say the workshop sessions had offered an opportunity of 'transformatory potential' in relation to people's awareness and insight around sensory landscape perception, and the extent to which this had facilitated different people emerged markedly in the second interview. There were two major outcomes. Firstly, that people's descriptive language was enriched with only one or two exceptions. Even the two exceptions, Tony and Laura who used very little descriptive language at all, chose different and more expressive descriptives than in the first interview. Secondly, the descriptives had become overwhelmingly more expressive and intimate, accentuating and emphasising experiences previously touched upon. The effect for me, as the researcher, during the interviews was of a deepening and expanded sense of each participant's experience of landscape.

Of the richness and the intensity of the language used, most descriptives were of positive experiences. Of the few exceptions Carol, whilst recalling aspects of childhood memory, referred to one negative aspect of landscape experience, and Dot, in describing her disappointment in moving up to the north of England in the 1960s recalled how the 'bleakness inveigled me'. Tess described the 'creepy, strange' shapes in the limestone vegetation. However, all these three women were also effusive about their experiences. Tess in particular described an intense 'emotional attachment' she had felt in landscape: she talked of beauty, 'excitement' and 'personal moments' that were possible in places. Carol also countered her childhood fears with recounting how as an adult it is possible to either 'love [a landscape] desperately or be attached to it or it is an investment'. Finally, Dot talked of 'overpowering panoramic views' and 'wordless experiences' in some landscapes, usually occurring on mountain tops. Ruth and John both used extreme descriptions suggesting a powerful 'total sensory experience' had been realised (Ingold, 2000). Ruth talked of the 'total body experience' of landscape; she restated her 'deep sense of belonging' in a place, which she called realising her 'birthright', and that it was possible to feel a 'serious immersion' in landscape. John described being 'enthralled' by places, that some things were 'lovely to touch' that some places had been 'incredible'. Sue also intensified her descriptives around the theme of freedom. She announced that there were 'endless opportunities for exploring and being', for 'opening up'; that she 'loved the landscape' and that it offered 'endless exciting variety'. Geoff, who had been the least expressive in the first interview, found the photographs of the limestone pavement 'fantastic' and the whole experience 'fascinating'. (Geoff had only been able to attend the first workshop day, but did have a chance to see photographs of the subsequent workshops during his second interview).

I suggest that the marked increase of deeply expressive language by the end of the project was due to two reasons. The first reason was that people knew me better, hopefully had a stronger degree of trust, and were consequently more relaxed in the second interview than in the first interview. I contend that this factor probably had some significant effect, even with those participants who were not total strangers

to me. Because by the end of the project there was the common ground of having 'gone through' the project together, and the subject and material was opened for reflective discussion. The second reason for this great increase in intensity is that people, quite literally, had been through a 'transformatory' experience and they had accessed those areas of the 'unconscious known' - and perhaps a few 'unknowns' - that connected to early experience. They had been offered a space in which to gain all kinds of insights into their adult immediacy of sensory perception and the ways they habitually and spontaneously expressed that perception. People had been encouraged to connect with areas of awareness that they were not used to in their everyday consciousness. For some people there had been an opportunity to approach sensory perception of landscape from another perspective; because the project represented a successful 'facilitative environment' which in their early experience may not have been accessible. The outcome appears to have been beneficial and to have opened up potentially new ways of experiencing landscape and understanding their relationship to landscape. In the final section below I very briefly offer two examples of the 'transformatory potential' that emerged in dreams and the fantasies associated with these dreams.

7.5: Dreams

Two participants recounted dreams that they remembered over the period of the fieldwork. One person told me of a very short dream, which they felt did relate to the group project, which had no landscape images but a powerful image of giving birth. Her fantasy was that I, as researcher was in some way connected to this birth dream. I offer this as an example of the idea of birth as transformation. Although this participant had defiantly told me that nothing transformatory had happened in the workshop, her subsequent dream and her profoundly expressive descriptions in the second interview would suggest that perhaps something a little intangible, transformative, and to use her own words 'magical' had been allowed.

The other participant brought three dreams that were all clearly related to the project. All these dreams were recounted in detail and were highly intricate, with powerful images of landscape, mothers, groups, children and ritual. The most

resonant image was of a male 'witch doctor' doing 'some rites to sort out an old skull half-buried in the earth'. These rites culminated in a 'brick (like the ones we found at Sunderland Point) being flung into the skull to plug it up' and 'stop the leakage of thoughts not appropriate for us or our time'. The message was that this scene was an 'exact mirror of what was dead and buried beneath the ground'. The participant's explanation of the dream was that she associated the brick with Geoff, whom she was delighted to meet again unexpectedly on the workshop after many years, and the seaside visit during which Geoff had collected old bricks cast up on the beach. This scene she then associated with a walk to a waterfall where 'interesting things are often cast up'. This dream seemed to capture the sense of the unconscious, 'casting up' old thoughts of a time now 'dead' or past. For this participant, because some of these 'old thoughts' may have been dangerous to explore in the context of the workshop, access was 'plugged up' till a more appropriate time, leaving her free to explore other less dangerous but nonetheless interesting aspects of this work. Having had this dream following the first workshop, she did indeed go on to explore her relationship with landscape, and she also expressed a greater sense of freedom by the second interview indicating that, although initially threatening, the experience had ultimately been transformatory.

7.6: Conclusion

In this exploration of the sensory perception of landscape I have looked at the multiple ways in which landscape is experienced through different sensory experience. I have examined how people choose to communicate this experience in either representational, abstract forms or a mix of both; and that the forms chosen and the modelling process used reflects an individual's particular sensory affinity, previous memories, and also the degree of immediacy of their experience. I have also referred to the gender influence in relation to sensory perception and the modelling process.

I have discussed the elements of landscape that were especially important to different participants both culturally and personally, and also the relationship between landscape elements and gender. In the penultimate section I explored the

descriptives used in relation to landscape. From this exploration I propose that the ways an individual describes and expresses their subjective experience profoundly reflects the relationship between an individual's early mother/object relationship, and that person's subsequent adult landscape/object relationship. I have used two participants' dreams to illustrate both the power and the potential in this methodology, to raise awareness of sensory perception, which may facilitate insight and transformation in perceiving landscape.

Fig.7.1 Absorption in the tactile experience:

This appears to an observer as if the person is ‘listening’ to the object.



Fig. 7.2: Carol's material's model on Day 2:

Carol worked equally to communicate smell and sound; using an orange peeled out like a flower to sniff on top of a plastic funnel, she then wired up the funnel into an intricate contraption with an egg whisk filled with orange pulp, the whole of which when moved clanged against a tin. Her model caused much laughter in the feedback session as people tried it out.



Fig 7.3: Tony's model on Day 2:

Two close-up views of the clay 'sniff cave' stuffed with leaves and 'rotting earth things' that formed the part of Tony's model which communicated his experience of smells in the wood on Day 2. He also used a 'jagged' metal beer can found on site to represent his sense of the sound of 'jagged sharp, tractor muck-spreading', and tin foil to represent traffic noise.



Fig. 7.4: Ann's richly scented woodland model:

Ann chose to emphasise and communicate smell rather than sound and used a mass of leaves, some spring flowers with a particular emphasis on a 'curl of moss' having a strong earthy smell, which 'flew out at you', as she notes in her feedback.



Fig. 7.5 Carol's model on Day 2:

Carol modelled her experience of birdsong as she walked in the woods on Day 2 using curls of thin wire to represent the sounds coming out of the trees.



Fig 7.6 Tess's model on Day 2:

This is an abstract but interactive model of Tess's perception of sounds in her walk in the woods on Day 2



Fig.7.7: Jan's expression of her experience of the limestone:

Jan has smoothed and shaped in grey clay and the brilliant blue lake which drew out a striking interaction between tactile and visual.



Fig 7.8: Landscape visit Day 3:

People used hands, and as the photo on the left shows, feet to touch the landscape. Several people lay down and experienced whole body contact on limestone or on the grass beside the lake (see photographs in middle and to right).



Fig 7.9: Kath's sandplay model on Day 3:

Kath used layers of water, cling film and sand. Carol commented how this model was like a biological cell, and saw this as particularly cogent as Kath was studying for a degree in biology.



Fig 7.10: Nora's landscape model on Day 3:

Nora's impression of her experience by the lake in the sunshine, in which she built on her idea she had explored in the morning sand/water session; that of containing colour in order to express her visual experience.



Fig 7.11: John's sandplay model on Day 3:

An example of John's tendency to depict himself in the landscape, here he is the fisherman in his territory - although deprecatingly, John laughed, saying he thought this was "a foolish fisherman ... fishing in stagnant water without a line."
(WK:25498A2/100)



Fig 7.12: Kath's model of limestone grikes:

Kath has constructed the model as a layer of cling film over water with clay placed over the cling film. The clay is then slitted to represent the grikes and twigs inserted into the slits as the trees which grow out of the grikes. The whole is designed to capture the sense of the water's action beneath the limestone over eons of time.



Fig 7.13: John's landscape model Day 3:

John's representational almost map-like rendering of his walk across the limestone pavement to the lake, complete with gate and path.



Fig 7.14: Carol's landscape model Day 3:

Carol placing her 'strings of time' in her model of the limestone pavement after the landscape walk.



Fig.7.15: Tess's model on Day 3:

Tess tended to create vividly impressionistic interpretations of her experience of landscape: in this model she uses a bundle of sheep wool, buttons and velvet to depict limestone pavement surrounded by a forest of birch trees hazy with spring growth.



Chapter Eight: Conclusion

8.1 Transformations

Where I started out is very far from the place I find myself now. In the course of this thesis, as with the passing of time since childhood, many events have conspired to change both the external landscape that I live in and my own inner landscape. I have over my lifetime, and metaphorically over these last few years, travelled from the expanses of East Anglian estuaries to the hills and dales of the North West with their dramatic shades and lights. My route has been circuitous, complex and intricate: an echo of the route this thesis has taken as I have explored the spaces of subjective experience, gender influence and landscape. I am in this moment of conclusion aware of the potential for transformatory shifts during such a journey and aware of the insights that this research has offered.

I aim to respond to the questions posed by my research enquiry, reflect upon the effectiveness of the methodology and discuss some interpretations of the research material. Because the psychotherapeutic methodology used in this research was so central to every area of the enquiry, from the original research design to the analysis and through to the interpretation, I feel it is important specifically to address how effective such an approach has proved, as well as the future potential of this kind of methodology.

I have argued in this thesis that gender identity is a self-defining continuum: that an individual is *in relation to* gender essentialisms, not determined by those essentialisms. In response to the 'genderless arena' of phenomenological humanist geographers I have positioned myself alongside feminist geographers, and argued that when talking about landscape, the influence of gender identity and the presence of gender power relations in landscape has to be acknowledged. However, contrary to much that is written to date on gender and landscape perception, I contend that landscape is not perceived as gendered unless an individual chooses to assign gender. This does not preclude the influence of self-defined gender identity and/or perceived gender stereotypes on landscape perception. Coming from a Winnicottian

perspective of object relations theory I suggested that unconscious processes: early infant relational experiences with mother/primary carer, as well as childhood family relationships and childhood sensory experience with landscape profoundly but subtly affect subsequent adult relational experience with landscape, and thereby perception of landscape. Hence, I suggest that landscape both mirrors an individual's self-definition - of Self and gender identity - and also is potentially where that gender self-definition may be enacted as an expression of the relationship between Self and landscape as Other. As a means of effectively and ethically gaining insight into the unconscious processes and associations involved, I proposed using methodologies derived from psychotherapeutics. These methods allow a way of working with sensory experience, in particular the tactile sense, which I suggested was a vital point of access to memories and unconscious early associations as well as to immediate experience.

8.2: Sensing gender in landscape

What did I find? In this section I discuss findings firstly in reference to gender identity, secondly those concerning relationship to landscape. In this group of people I found that gender identity was an ongoing self-defined continuum. 'Ongoing' because participants never reported an experience of having reached a point in time where their gender identity was 'fixed' or immovable. I observed quite the contrary, in that people were able to track their earliest recollections of gender awareness and demonstrate complex processes by which they had developed and continued to define their gendered selves. 'Self-defined' gender identity is a term I have used to describe the outcome of these processes whereby an individual appears to exert a choice as to whether or not they identify with and express perceived cultural gender roles or stereotypes. They may choose – consciously or not – to live within what I have called, the 'bounds' of cultural stereotypes. Conversely, they may at other times choose to move 'outside the bounds' or to move expediently between culturally accepted norms and their own version of gender roles and expression. Different participants reported being more or less consciously aware of the range and possibility of choices in gender identity at any time. Thus, gender identity represented a 'continuum' of relationship between an individual and perceived

gender stereotypes: a process fuelled by a complex of socio-cultural, political, experiential, and individual elements.

The development of gender identity was integral with, and deeply influenced by, family relationships. There appeared to be two processes at work here: processes that started in early childhood with most participants reporting gender awareness by school age, at roughly five or six years old, and continuing throughout childhood into their teenage years and thence into adulthood. The first was a group dynamic: the 'family' as a group could be seen to be as much in a 'continuum' of relationship with perceived gender 'norms' as an individual member of that family group. The second process was the development of the individual's gender identity. Once an individual had successfully comprehended the nature and quality of the family relationship to perceived gender identity - a part of the process that seemed to be largely complete by adolescence - they were able develop their own 'continuum' of relationship. They may have stayed 'within the bounds' as the family had done, or to have chosen quite different directions. For example, participants described how, as they gained awareness of their own relationship to perceived gender norms, they had perhaps chosen to move more freely around the 'bounds' of those norms than the family group. In some cases, usually not before they had reached adulthood, they had rejected both family and cultural norms, opting instead to take up other and different versions of gender identity. At other times in their adult lives participants found themselves choosing to return to a similar relationship to gender 'norms' as that of their original family group.

The key influences in communicating the family's relationship to cultural norms were, in the most part, but not in all cases, parental. Participants reported taking their original reference points from their mother or father. Notably, for this particular group of participants their mothers had been the key communicators. Even for those participants who had been influenced by other siblings or relatives there seemed to be a sense that their 'gender' behaviour had been sanctioned by their mothers. For some people their mothers had deliberately encouraged expediency in gender roles, which frequently involved acting against perceived gender stereotypes

when the children were playing on their own. When in public or visiting relatives the mothers ensured the children acted out perceived gender roles and stereotypes. Thus, there was evidence of considerably more complex processes at work both within individuals and within their family group, all of which were dependent on each individual's self-definition, along with the opportunity, freedom and awareness to express this self-definition at different times in the course of their lives.

In terms of the relationship between gender identity and landscape two quite definite points emerged. Firstly, landscape was, with one exception, very rarely regarded as gendered. For instance, one participant stated that for her landscape was a neutral space, and that going out into landscape was special precisely because when out walking she did not have to feel constrained by gender stereotypes. Secondly, the influence of gender emerged not through what people *looked at* in landscape but rather in their *experience of activities*, or the observed activities of others, *associated with* a place. Hence, gender influence was found to be about actions in a place, and in this way integral with perceived gender roles assigned to certain activities in landscape, as well as objects used in the landscape, or assigned to elements of landscape. For example, farming, construction work involving the use of heavy machinery, coppicing, long cycle rides, skiing, sailing, long strenuous walks in rugged mountains or difficult terrain, and any vigorous physical work were described as largely male-dominated. Likewise, little girls were defined as tomboys if they 'played-out' in 'male-orientated', physically active and adventurous games, whether with other little boys or with other girls. Indeed especially in childhood, with the exception of short walks and equally short cycle rides – generally taken with other family members - most activities in the landscape were regarded as male-defined. In contrast, little girls were seen as 'girlie' if they enacted cultural femininities by staying indoors, or at least within their own or friend's gardens, playing quiet, home/mother orientated games with dolls, prams and 'wendy houses'. Several participants were highly aware of having consciously moved as teenagers or adults outside the 'bounds' of perceived stereotypes in the landscape usually by engaging in activities that were male-defined. Some people noted how, as children, they had moved between acting out perceived cultural masculinities and femininities in their

play in different contexts according to changes in opportunities, such as moving to a rural location from town and vice versa. These shifts were to some degree dependent on family approval, as well as age and consequent level of autonomy. Therefore, the influence of gender on landscape perception would seem, at any point in time, to be dependent on an individual's self-definition and processes of negotiation around gender issues.

Landscape appeared to have powerful resonance for people, which echoed their childhood experience. Landscape acted as repository for, and reflection of, quite particular feelings. In this sense, landscape, and some components and elements of landscape seemed at times to have become a 'transitional object', as described by Winnicott. For instance, in many cases, participants, as children and in their adult lives, reported 'bonding' or having a 'special' relationship with a particular place or element of landscape: in particular people were drawn to 'special' trees. They were as likely to have formed this bond in childhood as they continued to do so as adults.

Some landscapes evoked security, others intense fright and awe. Landscape was a place of nurture but equally a place of potential and actual death, and the myths that emerged echoed some of these extremes. Cultural and in some cases individual myths were one route whereby certain landscapes or components of landscape were assigned gender. However, as I have noted above, the assigning of gender to landscape as a result of individual myth or association was an exception in this group of participants, with only one participant assigning femaleness to her local hills. Cultural myth, as I note earlier, more readily assigns gender to components of landscape. However, no participants reported gendering objects in landscape in relation to cultural myths, although a few participants in this group associated landscape myths to certain landscapes and elements of landscape.

I found that the effect of people's early relationship experience with their mother and their family had resounded throughout their lives. Whereas some people reported a vague and indeterminate relationship with their mother, each person as a child had 'bonded' with some member of their family. Sometimes this person was in

fact their mother, but it also could be their father, aunt, brother or sister. This relationship had in almost all cases influenced the ways landscape was perceived and projected upon. The special relationship that the participant had formed with a family member as a child was often 'special' precisely because that person was associated with being in the landscape, a place where the child, and often the adult, felt empowered and connected with their total sensory experience. Some participants recalled activities in the landscape with the special person, but more often they remembered roaming free in the landscape either alone or with other children: in the roaming they recalled being in touch, in connection with the sensory experience of the elements of landscape.

Participants' recollections suggested they had a sense in childhood of landscape as the 'realm' of the child, their special 'place'. In particular this sense of 'specialness', sometimes reminiscent of a 'golden age' myth, was associated with the ages between about seven or eight years old to eleven or twelve years old, around the time of adolescence. These years seemed a deeply important time in terms of determining the kind of relationship people developed and maintained with landscape. These years were often regarded as offering opportunity for the child to experience periods of immense freedom from cultural norms, most especially if they had freedom to roam without adult supervision. Notably, the greatest amount of opportunity for freedom to roam was reported in older participants and the least in the youngest participant, suggesting a marked change in play habits and opportunity over the last fifty years. Although the processes involved in this phenomena remain unclear at this point, there is much scope for further research into the role that free roaming non-urban landscape might have during this seemingly crucial period of a child's development.

8.3: Developing methodologies

Sensory experience was an important aspect of participants' experience and memory of landscape and an important way in which gender identity was expressed. In this section, I discuss certain findings that emerged from particular aspects of sensory experience and reflect upon certain aspects of the methodology used in the

fieldwork. Using methods, which encouraged awareness of different senses at different times, I found that people reported a deepened and often powerful connection with early childhood memories. These techniques highlighted different sensory stimuli and perception of which it was found the senses touch and smell evoked memories most intensely. The power of smell to evoke, particularly childhood, memory supports previous discussion by Constance Classen (1993) and Anne Whiston Spirn (1998), as noted in Chapter Seven. Smell is thought so evocative because it is perceived in the most ancient (in evolutionary terms) areas of the brain that govern emotion, memory and behaviour. Finding that touch was a powerful medium with which to evoke memory would seem to relate to the significance of the tactile sense in early primal experience. Thus, the senses that were most significant in early perception experience were most powerful in evoking early memory and potentially unconscious associations.

Participants showed through the making of 3D models, and their feedback on the processes involved, how it was possible to unravel the intricacy of the relationship between Self, gender and landscape; and that the relationship was indeed extraordinarily complex. The moment of perception of landscape was found to be a moment of intersection and interaction between the several elements of subjective sensory experience: identity including gender identity, gender influence, past memories, projections, myths, cultural and personal experience. Drawing on psychoanalytic theory and devising the workshops using psychotherapeutic methodology proved to be highly effective in facilitating participants in their exploration and expression of this process. Sandplay facilitated a way of connecting with the tactile and almost invariably was found to bring out childhood memories at some point. The focus on different senses, with the tactile as the fulcrum, appeared to hone people's awareness, bringing out insights and reflections about their sense of a place.

The methodology was a crucial part of this thesis, for instance, proving highly effective in facilitating the flow of research material. This aspect is hard to define as without the psychotherapeutic methods I would not have been able to

consider posing the questions, or hoped to have received sufficient feedback. The ethics and psychotherapeutic skills that were brought to bear in the project have been found to have successfully facilitated an extraordinary rich and powerful response. I was constantly astounded at how the methods encouraged participants to connect with the moment to moment experience, and to express themselves in the modelling so creatively and precisely. I have been exploring some place of intersection between gender identity and subjective experience that is unconscious: that may or may not be brought to conscious awareness. The object relations theories of Donald Winnicott (1965/1990, 1975) in conjunction with humanistic psychotherapeutics, proved highly successful at helping to create an environment of insight into this realm of the unconscious.

The methodology was aimed to connect with sensory experience at a level that attempted to circumnavigate a purely intellectual or abstract response. This approach deliberately moved into a realm very different from that used by some earlier geographic researchers in environmental perception studies. For example, Brian Goodey (1973, 1974) in the 1970s tended towards exploring perception through cognitive processes. Goodey's choice of methodology was in keeping with later work in landscape perception studies by Thomas Saarinen (1984), James Sell et al. (1984), and James Sell with Ervin Zube (1986). However, the pragmatic 'hands on' methods demonstrated in this thesis are reminiscent of work by researchers such as Clare Cooper Marcus and Wendy Sarkissian (1986) in that same era and more recent work by Cooper Marcus and Carolyn Francis (1998). These three researchers, emerging from a background of landscape architecture, attempted to approach urban landscape perceptions by engaging with the 'lived experience' of local inhabitants. Cooper Marcus and Francis in particular also acknowledge and work with the sensory experience of people when exploring design of local spaces.

However, the geographic research that has proved most influential in this thesis has been that of Jacquie Burgess, Melanie Limb and Carolyn Harrison (1988a, 1988b). Their seminal work in the late 1980s in the Greenwich Open Spaces Project used a small group psychotherapy approach to explore unconscious associations,

memories and to some degree sensory experience, of place. In this thesis I have built on their idea of using psychotherapeutic skills in this kind of perception research. Making use of art therapy techniques, such as sandplay, alongside humanistic psychotherapeutic skills, I aimed to focus on the sensory perception of participants, in particular the tactile, to facilitate their accessing unconscious associations and memories.

Working with sensory experience in such a direct manner proved a means by which people could connect with early memory and association. In this way I found it has been possible to engage with the 'lived experience' of memory and recall of particular landscapes which have personal associations, and to bring memories 'alive' in present experience through touch, smell, and sound. Such a personal engagement with memory of landscapes is a quite different aspect of landscape memory to that explored by Simon Schama (1995) and Ralph Samuels (1995). Both these authors have chosen to examine and theorise historic, cultural memory in relation to landscape. Schama, in particular, highlights the ways in which cultural and national identity are reflected and resonate through memories and ancient tales associated with different landscapes, and how certain landscapes, and elements of landscape, furnish mythic memories. In this thesis, I have found that history and myth associated with landscapes were only a small part of the lived experience of an individual's memory of a place. (One or two people were especially keen on history, and they were more likely to associate cultural myth and national histories with their memories of some landscapes). Thus, although there were often echoes of mythic and cultural memories in most participants' descriptions of landscape, personal memories proved a more powerful resonance.

However, although memory has been an important, if not essential, aspect of the thesis, I deliberately chose not to explore the mechanisms and processes involved in this complex aspect of human consciousness. In part this is because much of the current debate as to the intricate mechanisms of memory arises from research within neuroscience orientated branches of psychology. I felt that to engage with these particular debates was beyond the remit or focus of this thesis.

My aim in designing the fieldwork of this thesis was to encourage a holistic approach. I hoped such an approach would avoid an overly cognitive response precisely because I was exploring the influence of childhood and infant experience, which I contend is deeply sensory, most notably tactile in nature, and thus accessible through tactile experience. Winnicott in his work with children and adults had likewise engaged in the 'lived immediacy' of people's sensory experience, as well as, and depending on their age, their cognitive processes. He encouraged play, and thereby sensory and frequently tactile experience, as a means to invoke and explore memories and associations. Thus, by blending art therapy skills and Winnicottian theory and methods I moved along a similar path, although with different emphasis, to that taken by Burgess, Limb and Harrison: a path taken by few geographers to date, but one that I suggest might be a highly productive route for future exploration. The methodology does present difficult ethical issues which, I suggest, must be adequately addressed. This is possible to some extent, by the researcher firstly having a solid grasp of psychotherapeutic skills and secondly undertaking reflective supervision during the fieldwork. However, there were some aspects of the research question which proved difficult to fully explore using this methodology, in particular the influence of very early infant/primary carer relationships upon subsequent relationship with landscape. In part the difficulty arose because of the nature of the experience of early relationships. Early infant experience is contained or held in unconscious association and body memory, much of which is accessed by entering a state of regression, albeit subtle and certainly in this research with a definite and continuing contact with the 'adult present'. Whilst in this state an individual's experience and possibly concomitant associations may be reported and explored verbally but much of it will be expressed non-verbally through body language and subjective sensation. Indeed, I deliberately designed the workshops to facilitate non-verbal expression.

However, working with people non-verbally poses more than the obvious problem of data collection and interpretation. There are ethical issues and issues of vulnerability that arise when conducting research with people in states of regression,

however subtle that regression, and however sensitively and ethically the methodological design. Participants need to trust the facilitator and be willing to follow a process. To some extent this was achieved in the workshops. But to really 'plumb the depths' and explore the early infant experience in the kind of detail that might afford the most insight would require a great deal more time, and a strong commitment to intensive 'psychotherapeutic-style' exploration. There would need to be highly skilled facilitation and a very clear awareness on the part of both researcher and the researched that the process is exploratory not therapeutic (although, there may be positive 'therapeutic' benefits for participants taking part in such a project). Therefore, the methodology used in this fieldwork has immense potential to be developed in order to further the kinds of exploration I have initiated in this thesis. But there are drawbacks to its general use in qualitative research in that the researcher needs to have acquired sufficient psychotherapeutic skills to facilitate and conduct the fieldwork ethically and effectively.

8.4: Closing remarks

I conclude that gender identity does influence perception of local, and general, landscape. However, the degree to which gender influences perception depends on the context of the sensory experience and the stage of development in gender identity: the more people are engaged with the subjective sensory experience, the less gender appears to influence landscape perception. Also, gender differences appear more important in childhood, which I suggest may be due to childhood development of gender identity, involving an 'acting out' of perceived gender stereotypes as part of a process of negotiating self-defined gender identity. This may be why gender appears to have more influence on childhood landscape perception. As adults because we exercise more gender self-definition, gender may be less important in our perception of landscape. Therefore, I argue that landscape perception may be different from moment to moment, place to place, according to the mutability of one's self-defined gender identity. An individual's gender self-definition will itself be infused with, in relationship with or intersected with, memories and past experience, early and subsequent sensory experience and an interaction with various elements of landscape. In effect, when an individual

perceives landscape, whether that landscape is a field, a mountain, a desert or their back garden, they perceive and respond from conscious and unconscious associations and intersections of past experience and the present moment. These associations are inseparable from identity, and thus gender identity. Landscape perception is a multiplicity of experience, a process rather than an event.

What implications will such a conclusion have for future research, whether in the discipline of geography, or in other disciplines and areas of landscape or environmental enquiry? I have two points to make here, the first about the methodology and the second about improving insights into the relationship between people and their locality or environment. Firstly, the methodology offers potential for facilitating enquiry into areas of human experience that are difficult to access by more traditional qualitative approaches. Human geography has, with few exceptions, tended to explore the relationship between people and place via well-trodden methodological paths. However, over time taking the same path will inevitably, I suggest, tend towards falling into the trap of a one-dimensional view. Much landscape and environmental research in human geography approaches place and landscape from a predominantly visual and/or cognitive angle, which over time reproduces one-dimensional views and consequently one-dimensional interpretations. Whilst these approaches glean rich material there are whole areas of human consciousness and relationship that frustratingly remain hidden and unexplored. As I have demonstrated in this thesis, these are areas that are neither predominantly cognitive or visual, nor always accessible through our everyday conscious awareness. Hence, this thesis aims to encourage more rigorous and innovative research methods, and I hope has demonstrated the effectiveness of adapting certain psychotherapeutic skills to this end.

Secondly, having once established a means to enquire more deeply and from more angles into the relationship between humans and landscape, there is an opportunity to gain insights that have the potential to considerably improve our understanding of the processes at work. We may have the means to greatly increase our awareness of, and appreciate more sensitively, the holistic quality of people's

'lived experience. Thus, we may a better position to encourage more effective strategies in local landscape planning and sustainable development projects, in assessing recreational needs, and in assessing the effects of landscape experience on people's general health and well-being. But, we may have to be prepared to hear the multiplicity, the complexity and the richness of people's experience of landscape as well as the influences, including gender, that bear upon that experience.

Appendix 1: Participant Profiles and Pseudonyms

Profiles give i) Age and year of birth. ii) Male or female iii) Occupation. iv) type of location lived in during childhood and as an adult, e.g. rural, semi-rural, semi-urban or urban. v) siblings. vi) (in brackets) Member of family closest to as a child. Only pseudonyms are given.

Dot : F: 66 yrs old (b.1932): Retired teacher/housewife: Childhood - urban SE and rural N England. Adult: Semi-urban USA, NZ and semi-rural NW England:
1 sister. (Mother)

Tess: F: 49 yrs old (b.1949): Librarian: Childhood - urban NW England.
Adult: urban NW England: 1 sister. (Aunt)

Sue: F: 48 yrs old (b.1950): Artist: Childhood - semi-rural S England.
Adult: Scotland and NW England: 3 brothers. (Mother)

Ann: F: 65 yrs old (b.1933): Worker in Drugs Education: Childhood: semi-rural NW England. Adult: urban NW England: None. (Father)

Laura: F: 38 yrs old (b.1960): Social Worker & Artist: Childhood: semi-urban S & NE England. Adult: urban Scotland, Australia & NW England: 1 brother, 1 sister.
(Brother)

Nora: F: 52 yrs old (b.1945): Head of Drama Dept.H.E.Coll: Childhood: semi-urban S England. Adult: urban S.& NW England: 3 brothers, 3 sisters. (Sister)

Kath: F: 19 yrs old (b.1978): Biology Undergraduate: Childhood: urban Southern USA. Adult: urban Southern USA: 1 brother. (Mother)

Carol: F: 47 yrs old (b.1951): Film/TV Set Designer & PhD Student: Childhood: rural and urban Western USA. Adult: urban S.England and rural NW England:
1 brother. (Father)

Ruth: F: 45 yrs old (b.1953): Gardener: Childhood: rural N.W England. Adult: rural Scotland, rural & urban NW England: 2 brothers, 1 sister. (Mother)

Geoff: M: 52 yrs old (b.1945): Woodworker: Childhood: rural S.England.
Adult: rural and urban NW England: 1 brother, 1 sister. (Brother)

John: M: 71 yrs old (b.1927): Retired Senior Lecturer in Politics: Childhood: urban S. England. Adult: Semi-urban USA, NZ and semi-rural NW England: 1 sister.
(Mother)

Tony: M: 42 yrs old (b.1955): Maths Teacher: Childhood: urban Eastern England.
Adult: urban NW England: 1 sister. (Father)

Appendix 2: Timetable of Workshop Days

Day 1: Exploring tactile sense : Visit Sunderland Point - seaside

Morning session 9.30am - 12.20pm

Introductory session : setting up for first exercise 30 mins

Session 1: Sand Play 30 mins

Touching and playing with sand (wet and dry washed silica) Shutting eyes. In pairs but on own to start with, then interacting in pairs.

After 15 minutes people have chance to play with tools, small buckets etc to shape and mould sand.

Feedback (in pairs and then group) 15 mins

Break 15 mins

Session 2 : Play with other textures and materials 35 mins

Chose materials on display by touch.

Shutting eyes create a shape from materials

Feedback(in pairs and then group) 15 mins

Briefing for afternoon site visit / Drive to site 30 mins

Lunch break on site 45 mins

Afternoon session 1.35 pm - 4pm

On site gathering materials 45 mins

(Sunderland Point, Lancaster)

Near or far - alone or in pairs. Walk, sit or wander and gather materials by touch to take back that you feel have an affinity with and that express your experience of this landscape

Return from site and regroup 30 mins

Session 3 : Modelling the landscape 35 mins

On your own with materials gathered

And/or materials provided if you want.

Shutting eyes wherever possible, letting touch guide you

Break (if and when liked) 10 mins

Feedback 15 mins

Evaluation, feedback and briefing for Day Two 10mins

End of Day One:

Day 2 : Exploring smell and sound via the tactile : Visit Yealand Hall Allotments - coppiced native woodland

Morning session 9.30 am - 12 noon

Introduction and setting up 10mins

Discussion and feedback session
In small groups and then whole group 30 mins

Session 1 : Sand Play 25 mins

Touching and playing with sand (wet and dry washed silica) Shutting eyes. In pairs but on own to start with then interacting with pair. Can use tools if wished towards end of time. Be aware of sound of the sand play and the smell of the sand

Feedback (in pairs then whole group) 15mins

Break 15 mins

Session 2 : Play with materials 35mins

(includes noisy items and fruit and vegetables)

Be as expansive and adventurous as you like and using touch, sound and smell select materials you like

Make shapes and sounds and smells as you like

Feedback (in pairs and small groups then whole group) 15 mins

Clearing up 5 mins

Lunch break 60 mins

Afternoon session 1.00pm - 4pm

Drive to site 15mins

Site Visit 60mins

(Yealand Hall Allotments)

Walk, sit or wander focusing on the sounds and smells, and if wanted gather materials by touch to

take back that could be used to express your experience.

Follow the countryside code when gathering materials e.g. no rare plants or chunks of rare rocks etc.

Return to Hall 15 mins

Session 3 : Modelling the landscape 45mins

Modelling a sound and smells landscape of the woods with materials you have gathered plus additional if you like.

Break: (when liked) 15 mins

Feedback (in pairs then to whole group) 20 mins

Evaluation and briefing for Day Three 10 mins

End of Day Two

Day 3: Exploring visual via tactile : Visit Gait Barrows National Nature Reserve - limestone pavement and natural lake.

Morning session 9.30am - 11.45am

Introduction 10 mins

Discussion session and feedback from Day Two 35 mins

In small groups then whole group

Session: 1 Sand and Water Play with colours 45 mins

Touching and playing with sand (wet and dry washed silica) and combining with water.

Focusing on hands to connect with the visual

On own to start with then interacting

in pairs if you want. Can use tools if wished

and coloured water etc.in models

Break (can be taken at any point in the session) 15 mins

Feedback (in pairs then to whole group) 20mins

Briefing on site visit 10mins

Drive to site (Gaitbarrows Nature Reserve) 15mins

Lunch on site 45 mins

Site visit : focusing on the visual through touch 1 hr 15 mins

No gathering of materials possible here at all as the site is a Nature Reserve. Bring awareness to a tactile experience of the visual.

Return to Hall 15mins

Afternoon session 2.30 pm - 4pm

Session 2 Modelling your experience of the 45 mins

a landscape of the reserve focusing on the visual through touch. Working individually.

Break (taken when you like) 15 mins

Feedback (in small groups then to whole group) 15 mins

Whole group feedback session and evaluation. 15 mins

End of Day 3 (final workshop).

Appendix 3: Example of Analysis Chart - Chart 6: Elements of Landscape: Interview 1

This chart is the one of three used in analysis of references to a primary code 'Elements of Landscape'. A similar chart was compiled for Workshop Days 1, 2 and 3, and another for Interview 2. The chart was enlarged to A3 and completed by hand - examples of completed code 'box' is illustrated. The numerals refer to the line of the transcript from where the reference was taken.

Participant name	Wood/plants	Earth/rock	Air/space	Fire	Water	Metal	Animals/birds	Buildings
Dot	020 300 gardens ³ hickies ³ trees ³							
Tess		040 beach ² islands ² hills ³						
Sue		060 340 chalk ² silt hills ² mud	420 blue sky sp-ae ³					
Ann				2/120 blitz ²				
Laura								
Nora								
Kath								
Carol								
Ruth								140 hills ³ bidge ² houses ³
Geoff								
John								
Tony								

Appendix 4: Example of an Individual Chart: Gender Descriptives

GENDER Descriptions: Dot (female): Family: 1 sister. No brothers
 (Emphasis code: plain = 1, underlined = 2, *italic* = 3, **bold** = 4, UPPER = 5, **UPPER BOLD** = 6 +

MALE	FEMALE	-ve MASC	+ve MASC	-ve FEM	+ve FEM
Boys let us join in the cricket	Memories v.feminine	More difficult to play with boys naturally	Allowed to play with boys		We were v.free. Not restricted
	Played house		Boys enjoy physical 'practicals'		
Half an acre wonderful for boys.	Not doll-minded				
Boys different		Father difficult	Interested in boys	Nice girls don't do that (florist)	Mother essential: a 'rock' we clung to
	Used to tear skirts. We tidy it (landscape) We're conditioned over the centuries	Didn't know boys			
	Women in landscape				

Appendix 5: Analysis : Gestures and Body Language

Materials : Workshop 2, Day 1

Dot:	Quick deft fingers Tying and bending of willow twigs Short hand movements	Sitting
Tess:	Squeezing, pushing Touching, feeling out materials Slow holding. Light moulding	Standing
Sue:	Short moulding with thumb Stroking with thumb Slow stroking of stick. Placing	Standing and sitting
Ann:	Long finger movements Bending and shaping Placing. Inserting twigs	Sitting
Laura:	Hard kneading of clay with hands and fingers Intricate wiring Placing Light finger dabbings in clay	Standing and sitting
Nora:	Careful placing Moulding of clay Ripping small bits of paper Small careful movements	Standing
Kath:	Tearing little bits of foil Delicate finger movements Smoothing Cutting twigs, handling feathers	Sitting
Geoff:	Stroking and touching Short touching movements Pushing together. Placing twigs Diving and delving with fingers and hands	Standing
John:	Clay working, kneading and prodding Forceful use of trowel tool to mould eyes. Placing	Sitting
Tony:	Strong, defined movements, whole body Tying and gathering together twigs Strong bending and twisting Rolling clay, smoothing onto twigs	Standing

Materials : Workshop 2, Day 2

Dot:	Whole body and hands modelling. Placing Tins etc. Dextrous finger movements, sewing.	Standing and sitting
Tess:	Upper body and hands to fix threads Placing. Dextrous careful finger movements Whole body bending	Standing
Sue:	Placing. Using tool to mould clay Light dextrous finger movements Touching and flexing to test model Crunching, rapping fingers movements Sewing thread	Standing
Ann:	Moulding and pressing clay Small finger movements to place veg. Picking and dropping. Hands only	Sitting
Laura:	<i>Not present</i>	
Nora:	Placing. Light finger holding and testing Shaking model. Light finger tapping	Standing
Kath:	<i>Not present</i>	
Carol:	Hard clay moulding. Using tool to make holes Whole body and hand movements Muscular finger movements Twisting. Placing and twisting	Sitting
Geoff:	<i>Not present</i>	
Ruth:	Sewing. Busy, quick hand movements Whole body movements Cutting materials Light finger movements	Standing and sitting
John:	Pressing and moulding clay Hard pressing .Using tool to cut materials Fingers and thumbs (small movements) to place celery Knife to mould duck in clay	Sitting
Tony:	Making bullroarer Hard defined whole body and hand movements to carve and whittle wood. Strong holding	Standing

Appendix 6: Example of an A5 Individual Card Profile

Card 1

GENDER DESCRIPTIONS 1: Laura (female) : 1 brother. 1 sister Defined self as tomboy

M: Played with brother and boys ++ .Tomboyish. Climb trees. .Played with go-karts.Played soldiers. Mistaken for a boy a lot. Boys out conquering landscape. Stereotypes ++.Men tackle and conquer. Men more literal thinking than women.

F: At 11yrs changed to girls.Tony & self kept to our territory .Boys vs.girls toys an issue at 7yrs old.Trousers vs .skirts an issue at 12 yrs old

-ve MASC: Art is male dominated

+ve MASC

-ve FEM:

+ve FEM: Feminine creativity. I was more interested in creating.

GENDER DESCRIPTIONS 2

Wk1:**territory**; more interested in **creating** than Tony

GrpA2:**men tackle & conquer**; **women lateral thinking**

Card 2

TOMBOY

[played with] boys both boys.....there didn't seem girls around where I lived, I mean at school obviously, school was only about two miles away but actually where we lived there wasn't any other.....so I was quite tomboyish, I suppose because of that, because I would be outside with them, you know climb the trees.....[] very much very much geared outside, we never used to be in the house much, I don't remember.

A: .[] *tomboyish, what do you actually mean by that [] ?*

I used to have my dolls locked up in the cupboard somewhere that I wouldn't let anyone.. *(laughs)*.see [].....is it tomboy? I used to play with cars, cars and climb trees and embarrassingly enough used to play soldiers with like colanders tied round my head and..leaves sticking out...*(laughs)*.cos I suppose that's what we saw all the time [] and go-karts and I suppose I probably did what the boys wanted to do a lot of the time really, but having said that, I think if someone had given me a girl I probably wouldn't know what to do with much of it.

Card 3

ANALYSIS : GESTURES AND BODY LANGUAGE

Sandplay :

Day 1: Sitting: Slow rhythmic sifting. Holding. Testing. Finger tracing.

Day 2: N/p

Sand and water

Day 3: Standing: Stroking (with whole hand, back of hand and fingers tips).

Moulding. Smoothing. Patting (slowly) with whole hand. Poking holes. Pouring water carefully. Moulding from hand to hand.

Materials :

Workshop 2, Day 1: Standing and sitting: Hard kneading of clay with hands and fingers. Intricate wiring. Placing. Light finger dabbings in clay. **2, Day 2:** N/p

Landscape :

Workshop 3, Day 1: Sitting: Unravelling string. Stroking plank. Smoothing clay. Feeling objects slowly with eyes shut. Strong pressing to place. Tying wool to wooden stick. **3, Day 2:** N/p

3, Day 3: Standing: Hard kneading of clay. Stroking repeatedly with finger tips. Poking and pushing with one finger. Using fingers and thumbs in smooth movements.

Card 5

ANALYSIS 4: SENSES in relation to LANDSCAPE

TOUCH/tactile

Interview 1: Climbing trees / riding bike.

2: slimy / surfaces cracks and water / touch textures and feel.

Group Discussion: Incredibly tactile.

VISUAL

Interview 1: seeing skyline / colours of earth / painting / vast empty expanse / isolation.

2: really look at things / caught your eye / see the colours / really look at / looking at something for a particular reason. **Group Discussion:** colours incredible.

SOUND

Interview 1: nil **2:** quietness.

Group Discussion: seascape aware of sounds, pebbles on beach / wind, gulls.

SMELL

Interview 1: nil **2:** nil **Group Discussion:** smell of sea.

EMOTIONS

Interview 1: challenge.

2 : enjoyed / excitement / tranquil / peaceful / tuned in / part of landscape.

Group Discussion: more attentive to smaller details / onslaught on senses (at seaside).

Card 6

ANALYSIS 5: SENSES in relation to MATERIALS

TOUCH/tactile

Workshop 1: Sandplay and Materials: bucket stopped the touch / doodle felt like sand / pummelling clay, doodle grew / touching really nice / wet / silky / willow extends out.

1: Landscape Models : touch of clay / cloggy mud / harsh landscape at Sunderland Point / really like this bit of clay, nice to touch. **2:** N/p

3: Sand and Water : love getting messy, love it / put the holes in and started pouring / lost that kind of edge / mine's tactile really / making holes / love fiddling with things / messing around with water / enjoyed destroying controlled shape / obsessed with making even shapes and holes.

3: Landscape Models : smoothing salty, all very textural / limestone shelf and grass / feel of clay and water silky.

VISUAL

1: sandplay and materials : creating shapes and patterns.

1: Landscape models: nil. **2:** N/p

3: sand and water : filling with colour / liked the blue / red / beautiful / blue.

3: Landscape models: nil

SOUND

1:sandplay and materials : nil

1:Landscape Models: nil **2:** N/p. **3:sand and water:** nil

3:Landscape Models : nil

SMELL

1: nil. **2:** N/p **3:sand and materials** nil **3:Landscape Models:** nil

EMOTIONS

1: Sandplay and materials : comforting material, sand / obsessed with little bucket / difficult working with Tony, territory.

1: Landscape Models : found [Sunderland Point] chaotic. **2:** N/p

3: Sand and water : (clay) gorgeous, lovely, love getting messy / love fiddling with things / liked destroying perfect shapes.

3: Landscape Models : really loved water and clay together.

Card 7

LANDSCAPE DESCRIPTIVES:

Interview 1 : fascinating / vast / adventure / tackled / vast playground / harsh / not city / inspiring / exciting.

Workshop 1 : harsh / chaotic.

2 : N/p

3 : Incredible / v.textural.

Interview 2 : tranquil / therapeutic / part of it (landscape) / surfaces / conquering.

Group Discussion: whole experience / components make up seascape - sound and smell / seascape an onslaught on senses / men conquer landscape.

Card 8

LANDSCAPE ELEMENTS: Across all fieldwork

WOOD: **TREES** .wheatfields. garden. *grass*. reeds. woods. Garden.

EARTH : quarries. gorges. desert. earth colours. cliffs.limestone shelf. crevices limestone.

AIR: skylines. vastness. emptiness. expanse.*wind*.

FIRE: blitz. Fire.

WATER: **lakes**. sea./scape. lake.**water**.

METAL: gokart. cars. bike.cartridge.gokart.

ANIMALS: frogspawn. Snakes.

BUILDINGS:. treehouse. odd cottage.

Card 9

MODELLING MATERIALS (* asterisk = gathered materials)

1. Sand: sand /plastic pot.

1. Materials:. grey & red clay. feathers. cotton waste. bark strips. glass beads. wire.

1. Landscape Models:. sand. clay. *pebbles. wool. *nylon twine. *driftwood. Glue.

2: Not present

3.Sand and Water: sand. plastic pots. grey clay. red and blue-coloured water.

3.Landscape Models: grey clay. cotton wool. wooden cocktail sticks.matchstick. green and blue-coloured water.

Appendix 7: Example of Chart of Materials Used for Modelling

*Asterisk indicates materials gathered at landscape site.

Day 1: Exploring tactile sense

Dot: 1 **Sand:** sand and plastic pots

2 **Materials:** grey clay, cotton waste, bark, willow withies

3 **Landscape:** sand, rocks, pebbles, clay, stone, wood, metal

Tess: 1 **Sand:** sand and tools

2 **Materials:** grey clay, wool, twigs, foil, shredded paper, cling film, foam blocks

3 **Landscape:** grey clay, rocks, thread, netting curtain material, *wood
*seaweed

Sue: 1 **Sand:** sand and tools

2 **Materials:** grey clay, bark, twigs, glass beads.

3 **Landscape:** sand, grey clay, plasterboard, *pebbles, *rock, *wooden sticks

Ann: 1 **Sand:** sand and tools

2 **Materials:** feathers, bark, twigs, bark strips

3 **Landscape:** sand, *pebbles & rocks, *driftwood, *seaplants, bark, * seaweed

Day 2 : Exploring smell and sound via the tactile

Dot: 1 **Sand:** sand; tools/plastic pots

2 **Materials:** foam blocks, thread, nettles, foil, tin cans, wire, polystyrene, beads

3 **Landscape:** sand, red clay, limestone fragments, potato, twigs, moss, leaf litter, wood shavings

Ann: 1 **Sand:** sand and tools

2 **Materials:** red clay, cucumber, celery, orange, potato, red, green, yellow peppers, wire, metal clasp, sheet metal, thread, string

3 **Landscape:** grey clay, *plants (flowers and leaves), *leaf litter, *twigs.
*moss, *used shotgun cartridge

Tess: 1. **Sand:** sand and tools

2. **Materials:** shredded paper, green pepper, orange, celery, cucumber, foil, black, white, clear plastic bags, tin cans, plastic containers, nylon twine, wire

2. **Landscape:** grey clay, shoddy wool, foil, leaves, *moss, *leaf litter, board, matches, tins, white plastic bag

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